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# A New Log of the Columbia

BY  
JOHN BOIT

on the  
Discovery of the Columbia River  
and Grays Harbor

Edited by  
EDMOND S. MEANY

Reprinted from The Washington Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII., No. 1

University of Washington Press  
Seattle, Washington  
1921

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By JOHN BOIT

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## INTRODUCTION.

The discovery of the Columbia River in 1792 was the first and greatest among the important events, which resulted in the establishment of American possessions on the Northwestern Coast. Any document relating to that event would be prized and here we have one of peculiar importance.

Captain Gray's original and official log of the *Columbia* is lost. That statement has been made often but the definite and authoritative statement of the loss has rarely been given. In the United States Public Documents, Serial Number 318, there may be found Senate Document 470, of the twenty-fifth Congress, second session. Pages 14-23 of that document contain an affidavit by Charles Bulfinch, dated at Boston April 21, 1838. He was the last survivor of the group of men who owned the *Columbia* and sent her on the memorable voyages to the Northwest Coast of America. In his seventy-fifth year he prepared this affidavit, "which statement," he said, "may in future be important in determining the right of the United States to the honor of discovering the river, and, consequently, to the right of jurisdiction over the country adjacent."

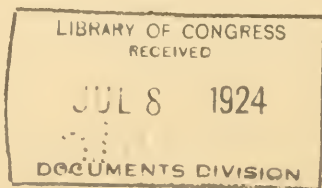
Mr. Bulfinch testifies that Joseph Barrell projected the enterprise and supplied two-sevenths of the necessary means. He had five associates, each supplying one-seventh, as follows: Samuel Brown, John Derby, Crowell Hatch, John M. Pintard and Charles Bulfinch. In the autumn of 1787 they sent out the ship *Columbia*, Captain John Kendrick, and the sloop *Lady Washington*, Captain Robert Gray. The ship was two hundred and twenty tons' burden and her full name was *Columbia Rediviva*. The sloop was ninety tons' burden and usually went by the shorter name of *Washington*. Captain Kendrick had command of the expedition. In June, 1789,

Captain Gray was transferred to the *Columbia*, and proceeded from the Northwest Coast to Boston by way of China and the Cape of Good Hope. He was thus the first to sail around the globe under the Stars and Stripes. The results of the voyage were so disappointing that Mr. Derby and Mr. Pintard sold their interests to Mr. Barrell and Mr. Brown. These with the other owners—Hatch and Bulfinch—sent the *Columbia* on her second voyage in command of Captain Gray.

This second voyage is the one, during which the great discoveries were made. Any new light on those occurrences would be welcome, but historians in the Northwest were certainly not expecting a new journal giving a day-by-day record of the entire voyage. Just such a rich find has come to light in this John Boit journal. His personality and journal will be mentioned shortly. In the meantime let us turn to the loss of the official log.

Mr. Bulfinch in his affidavit explained that Captain Kendrick had remained in Pacific waters with the sloop *Lady Washington*. It was expected that he would have collected furs which would be turned over to Captain Gray during his second voyage to the Northwest. In this the owners were somewhat disappointed. Mr. Bulfinch says: "It was determined by the owners to prosecute the voyage no further with the ship, but to leave Captain Kendrick in the sloop *Washington*, to attend to their interests on the coast. Intelligence was obtained from Captain Gray of the discovery of Columbia River; but nothing was done in consequence of it until 1816, when Samuel Barrell, Esq., the principal living owner, after the death of Joseph Barrell, Esq., requested the deponent to make inquiry after Captain Gray's papers, and to take correct copies of all proceedings relative thereto; and this was done in consequence of President Madison's application to him for information." Captain Gray had died in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1806, and Mr. Bulfinch, after some search, obtained from Mr. Silas Atkins, brother of Captain Gray's widow, the original log of the *Columbia*. He made careful extracts, including the complete entries as to the discoveries of Grays Harbor and Columbia River.

That was a most fortunate circumstance. The extracts were used in 1816. They were incorporated again in the affidavit of 1838. They have been depended upon by historians and committees of Congress since that date. In 1837, William A. Slacum desired more than the available extracts. He employed Thomas Bulfinch, son of Charles Bulfinch, to make a diligent search for the original log-book. In this search it was found that Mrs. Gray and her





brother, Captain Silas Atkins, had both died some years before, and that Mrs. Gray's papers had gone to her niece, Mrs. Nash. Charles Bulfinch, in his affidavit, declares: "Thomas Bulfinch then applied to Mrs. Nash, who very readily handed to him one log-book of the ship *Columbia*, containing minutes of her voyage from Boston to the straits of John de Fuca, in 1791, but stated that another log book, which contained the proceedings at Columbia river in 1792, had been used as waste paper, and was entirely destroyed."

It was that information which caused Mr. Bulfinch to prepare his affidavit and which gave such importance to the extracts he had made more than thirty years before from the original log-book. Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his *Northwest Coast*, Volume I, page 259, says: "The log of the *Columbia* on this trip has been lost, with the exception of a valuable fragment covering the time from the 7th to the 21st of May." In a footnote he says that the extract was made in 1816 and was used by many subsequent publications.

The Boston *Transcript*, on May 10, 1919, announced that the Massachusetts Historical Society had received, as a bequest from the late Robert Apthorpe Boit, journals and log-books of his grandfather, John Boit, master-mariner. Mr. Arthur Lord, Treasurer of the society, in announcing the gift, gave some valuable biographical facts about John Boit. He was born on October 15, 1774, the son of John and Sarah Brown Boit, both of Boston. Robert Apthorpe Boit, in April, 1916, had written about his grandfather: "At the age of sixteen he started his first circumnavigating voyage as fifth officer aboard the ship *Columbia*, bound for the northwest coast of China [America]. His brother-in-law, Crowell Hatch, shipowner and merchant of Boston, was one of the chief owners of the ship *Columbia*. \* \* \* John Boit kept complete journals of this voyage, and these discoveries are interestingly and minutely described by him. After returning from this voyage John Boit circumnavigated the globe in command of the Sloop Union. The many adventures of this voyage are fully told in his journals and log-books. Besides these there are logs and journals of various other voyages. That he was a man of acute observance and good judgment, a man of character and courage, his journals amply testify. \* \* \* They have never been published."

The journals of such a man would contain materials of interest in various parts of the world, but it seemed absolutely essential that here in the Northwest we should have that part of his

*Columbia* log which related the discoveries and experiences on these shores. Correspondence was at once opened with the Massachusetts Historical Society to secure for publication a transcript of that important part of the journal. Mr. Worthington C. Ford, editor of the society, very courteously replied that the *Columbia* was a Boston ship, owned by Boston men and commanded by a Boston captain. The journal ought, therefore, to be published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. However, he would cooperate with the *Washington Historical Quarterly* in any way possible. This he has done in generous fashion. He has sent advance proofs of the pages to appear in Volume 53 of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In transmitting the proofs, he said he had refrained from editing the journal because he had not command of the local names and stations, adding: "This will be your opportunity."

We are grateful to the Massachusetts Historical Society for this generous cooperation and we trust that this linking of East and West may help to advance the growing feeling of American unity in historical interests.

In addition to the fragment of the *Columbia's* log, referred to above, there are a number of other documents of prime importance which bear on this new log.

The manuscript journal of Captain Joseph Ingraham of the brig *Hope* is in the Library of Congress. A complete photostat copy, including the chart and drawings, is in the University of Washington Library. Ingraham was a mate on the *Columbia* during her first voyage. He left her at Boston in 1790 and accepted command of the *Hope*, sent by Boston merchants, rivals to the group owning the *Columbia*. His journal has many entries relating to the work of his former associates.

John Hoskins was supercargo or clerk of the *Columbia* during her memorable second voyage to the Northwest Coast. He kept a journal which is preserved in manuscript form in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A typewritten copy is in the University of Washington Library. While it is a very useful document, it ends in March, 1792, or just before the important discoveries of that spring.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, in *Northwest Coast*, Volume I, pages 186-187, says: "I have been so fortunate as to obtain an original diary of this voyage, kept by Robert Haswell, the second mate of the *Lady Washington*, a very important document, not consulted by any writer before me. Indeed it does not appear that any other log

of either vessel has ever been seen; and consequently nothing but a brief mention of the expedition has been published. As a narrative of the first visit of an American vessel to the north-west coast this diary merits much more space than I can give it here—in fact it should be published entire.” In a footnote he says that he obtained the document from Captain Haswell’s daughter, Mrs. John J. Clarke, of Roxbury, Massachusetts. The author later adopted his own suggestion by publishing the document in smaller type at the end of the same volume, covering pages 703 to 735 of the second or 1886 edition. Haswell was mate of the *Columbia* on her second voyage until the last of March, 1792, when he was given command of the sloop *Adventure*, built by the Americans during the winter at Clayoquot. Bancroft’s edition of his journal is a prime source and a helpful one.

Captain George Vancouver’s well known *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* has extensive references to the *Columbia* and the work of her officers and men. This source is supplemented by *A New Vancouver Journal on the Discovery of Puget Sound*, by a member of the *Chatham’s* crew, published in this *Quarterly* in 1915.

Captain Vancouver was fearful that Captain Gray or Captain Kendrick had proved that Nootka was part of a great island. Dr. C. F. Newcombe made an exhaustive study of that supposed voyage and published it in Victoria in 1914 as *Memoir No. 1* of the Archives of British Columbia.

Another helpful Canadian publication is *British Columbia Coast Names, 1592-1906*, by Captain John T. Walbran.

One of the best narratives of Captain Gray’s discoveries was prepared by Mr. Edward G. Porter and published in the *New England Magazine*, New Series Volume VI., (June, 1892), pages 472-488. This narrative has been reprinted as Number 131 of *Old South Leaflets*. Among the embellishments of Mr. Porter’s article is a facsimile of Captain Gray’s signature. The “Robert” is clearly written and disposes of the spelling “Robery” as given in a number of documents.

All these and other sources have been consulted in an effort to make of this Boit journal a substitute for the lost official log of *Columbia*. Only that portion of the journal is here reproduced which deals with the Northwestern Coast of America. All of that part is accurately given. Readers wishing the portions of the journal before or after the work on these shores may find them, as stated above, in Volume 53, of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The title page of Boit's journal is as follows:

Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's* voyage from Boston, (on a voyage round the Globe).

By JOHN BOIT

N. B. The dates etc., is by Nautical Account (Not Civill).

The Ship *Columbia* was fitted out for a four years cruize, on a trading voyage to the N. W. Coast of America, China, etc.—about 250 tons burthen, mounted 12 Carriage Guns, and navigated with 50 men (including Officers)—own'd chiefly by Sam'l Brown, Joseph Barrell and Crowell Hatch Esq'rs, and commanded by Robert Gray. Cargo consisted of Blue Cloth, Copper and Iron.

The footnotes by Mr. Ford are indicated by asterisks and are signed by his initials. The numbered footnotes are mine.

EDMOND S. MEANY

### JOHN BOIT'S JOURNAL

[1791] *June* 4. N. Latt.  $49^{\circ} 10'$ ; W. Long.  $120^{\circ} 21'$ . This day made the land, on the NW. Coast of the American Continent between Nootka, (or King George's Sound)<sup>1</sup> and Cliquot\* (or Coxes harbour). For these severall days past we had seen whales, drift wood, feathers, kelp, etc. All signs of its vicinity. Breakers pt. bore NEBE 8 leagues, high land back, and snow perceivable on some of the mountains. Wind from Southward.

5. N. Latt.  $49^{\circ} 5'$ ; *Correct* W. Long.  $125^{\circ} 26' \text{ } \bigcirc \text{ } \epsilon$ . This day anchor in Coxes harbour,<sup>2</sup> and found it very commodious. This Harbour is made remarkable by three remarkable round Hills, abreast its entrance. *Hannah*,<sup>3</sup> Chief of the village Ahhousett came on board and appeared friendly. Above 300 of the Natives was alongside in the course of the day. Their canoes was made from the

\*Cayuela or Clayoquot—W. C. F.

<sup>1</sup> The famous British explorer, Captain James Cook, in April, 1778, named the place King George's Sound. Later he changed this to Nootka, erroneously concluding it to be the Indians' name for the place. (See Captain John T. Walbran's *British Columbia Coast Names*, pp. 359-362.) Two of Cook's officers were Master's Mate Nathaniel Portlock and Armourer George Dixon. In 1786, these two men came to the Northwest coast in command of the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte*, owned by an association of merchants called the King George's Sound Company. Nootka soon became known the world over as a definite geographical term but the temporary name created some curious confusion. Specimens of plants were collected and recorded as from King George's Sound. They were type specimens from Northwestern America. In the meantime a geographic feature at the southwestern extremity of Australia was named King George's Sound. Botanists had to appeal to historians to solve a supposed mystery of the herbaria.

<sup>2</sup> In 1788, Captain John Meares named an anchorage in Clayoquot Sound Port Cox, after John Henry Cox, a merchant residing in China and interested in the fur trade with the American coast. The name persists on Cox Point south of Templar Channel. (Walbran: *British Columbia Coast Names*, p. 119.)

<sup>3</sup> This was Chief Cleaskinah, who had taken for himself the name of the British captain, James Hanna of the *Sea Otter*.


body of a tree, with stem, and stern, pieces, neatly fixed on. Their models was not unlike our Nantucket whale boats. The dress of these Indians was either the Skin of some Animal, or else a Blankett of their own manufactory, made of some kind of Hair.<sup>4</sup> This garment was slung over the right shoulder. They all appear'd very friendly, brought us plenty of fish and greens. We tarry'd in this harbour till the 16th June, landed the sick, immediately on our arrival and pitch'd a tent for their reception, and although there was ten of them in the last stage of Scurvy, still they soon recover'd, upon smelling the turf, and eating greens of various kinds. We buried severall of our sick, up to the Hips, in the earth, and let them remain for *hours* in that situation. Found this method of great service. The principall village in this harbour is called *Opitsatah*,<sup>5</sup> and is governed by Wickananish, a warlike Chief. He and his family visited us often. The Indians brought severall *Deer*, and plenty of Rock Cod, Salmon, and other fish. Wild parsley, and a root call'd *Isau* or *Isop*, by the natives and much resembling a small onion, was brought us in abundance. We purchas'd many of the Sea Otter skins in exchange for Copper, and blue Cloth. These Indians are of a large size, and somewhat corpulent. The Men wear no other covering, but the garment before mentioned, and seem to have no sense of shame, as they appear in a state of Nature. The Women stand in great fear of the Males, but appear to be naturally very modest. Their garment is manufactured from the bark of a tree and is well executed, being so constructed as to cover them complete from the Neck to the Ankle. Both Male and Female wear *Hats* of a conicle form made out of strong reeds. On them is painted, (in a rude manner) their mode of Whale fishery. *Attoo*, the Captain's servant (and a native of the Sandwich Isle) ran away, among the Indians. A chief coming on board, plac'd a guard over him, and sent his Canoe back to the village with the news. They soon return'd with *Mr. Attoo*, and ransom'd their Chief.

17. This day weigh'd the anchors and left Coxe's harbour. Fine weather, wind at SW. All hands once again on duty. Make the people use Spruce Tea, boil'd from the Boughs we took on board, for that purpose and although not very palatable, I believe is an excellent *Antiscorbutic*. Bound along shore to the North and West. Saw woody point bearing ESE 3 or 4 leagues.

<sup>4</sup> Judge F. W. Howay has discussed "The Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish" in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX., pp. 83-92.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Boit later expresses sorrow at being ordered to destroy this village. (See Note 37, below.)

## AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE AND JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS.

20. N. Latt.  $50^{\circ} 6'$ ; W. Long.  $128^{\circ} 12'$ . Moderate breezes. At 8 P. M. abreast Woody point,<sup>6</sup> lay'd off and on, through the night. At daylight made sail, for Chickleset sound, out Pinnacle, and sent her ahead of the ship to sound. At 8 A. M. abreast the entrance of the sound. Hove to. At 10 the pinnace made the signall for an harbour. Bore away, wind at NW. At Meridian anchor'd in a small Cove, (which we named Columbias).<sup>7</sup> In this situation we was completely land lock'd. Vast many natives along-side. They appear'd much the same as those at Coxs harbour and talk'd their language. We laid in this harbour till the 26th, during which time got many Sea Otter and land furs, from the Natives, in exchange for Copper, Iron and Cloth, (with Beads, fish Hooks and such small stuff kept the Ship supplied with various kinds of fish and greens, with a few deer). These Natives was generally arm'd with Bows, arrows, and spears. Like those at Cliquot they would pilfer whenever an opportunity offer'd. Their *Women* were more Chaste than those we had lately left. But still they were not all *Dianas*. During our tarry here I visited one of the villages in the sound, found the Natives busily employ'd building Canoes, and packing provisions against the ensuing *Winter*. They treated me quite friendly. They dry their fish in the Sun, and then pack it in neat wooden *boxes*.  Necessity is the mother of *invention*.

26. This day left Columbia's Cove, and stood along shore towards the Straits of Juan De Fuca. Crew all well. Steering to the South and East'd. This is an Iron bound Coast, with high land back.

27. This day pass'd Cliquot, with a fine breeze from WNW and pleasant.

28. N. Latt.  $48^{\circ} 42'$ ; W. Long.  $124^{\circ} 0'$ . Enter'd the Straits of Juan De Fuca and hove to abreast the Village of Nittenatt,<sup>8</sup> found strong tides. Vast many Natives off, with Sea Otter and other Furs, which we purchas'd with the same articles as before. 'T was evident that these Natives had been visited by that scourge

<sup>6</sup> The most prominent cape on the northwestern coast of Vancouver Island. It was named Woody Point by Captain James Cook in 1778 but in 1860, Captain George H. Richards of the British Surveying vessel *Plumper*, changed the name to Cape Cook in honor of the great explorer.

<sup>7</sup> Probably in Naspate Inlet, south of Cape Cook. In some journals the name is Naspatee.

<sup>8</sup> John Meares in his *Voyages*, published in London in 1791, showed Barkley Sound charted as Berkley's Sound. Vancouver's chart, 1792, shows Alberni Canal, but the whole sound is shown as "Nitinat." The most recent charts show Barkley Sound and to the southeastward, near the shore, is Nitinat Lake. This might well have been the scene of the trade mentioned, as it is near the north entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

of mankind the Smallpox. The Spaniards, as the natives say, brought it among them. These Indians appear'd friendly.

N. Latt. 48° 23'; W. Long. 124° 0' O \* C. Kept beating about the entrance of De Fuca Straits till 3d July, on SE. parts (off a small Isle) call'd Tatooch,<sup>9</sup> we collected many Otters. These natives gave the preference to Copper. Fine Halibut and Salmon was procured in abundance. Nails, Beads etc. serv'd for this traffic. 'This Chief at Tatooch's Isle offer'd to sell us some young Children they had taken in war.

July 3. N. Latt. 49° 1'; W. Long. 126° 20'. Left the Straits. At 6 P. M. Cape *Flattery*<sup>10</sup> (so named by Capt. Cook) bore SEBE 3 leagues. Standing along shore to the Westward, wind from the East'd.

4. Took the wind from the Westward, employ'd beating to windward the land about 12 leagues. Many Whales.

#### AT ANCHOR IN BARRELL'S SOUND, IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES.

8. N. Latt. 52° 10'; W. Long. 131° 12'. This day anchor'd in Barrells sound<sup>11</sup> on the SE. part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, 20 fathom, rocky bottom. Sent the Pinnace, with an officer, to seek better anchorage, which was soon found. Got under way and stood up sound, and anchor'd in 15 fathom muddy bottom. A Chief by name *Coyac*, came along side, with plenty of other Indians. The Natives here are much stouter than any we had before seen, and appear to be very savage. The Men go quite naked, except a skin over the shoulder. The Women are entirely cover'd, with Garments of their own manufactory, from the bark of tree. They appear to carry full sway over the men and have an incision cut through the under lip, which they spread out with a piece of wood, about the size and shape of a goose egg (some much larger). It's considered as an ornament, but in my opinion looks very gastly. Some of them booms out two inches from the chin. The women appear very fond of their *offspring*, and the Men of both. We remain'd in this sound till the 17th. During which time we purchas'd a good lot of Sea

<sup>9</sup> Named by John Meares on June 29, 1788, in honor of Chief Tatoosh, whose tribe was there fishing.

<sup>10</sup> On March 22, 1778, Captain Cook saw a small opening "which flattered us with the hopes of finding an harbour." Being disappointed as to a harbor, he gave the name to Cape Flattery. (*A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, Vol. II., p. 263.)

<sup>11</sup> Named in 1789 by the Americans during the first voyage of the *Columbia* and *Lady Washington* after Mr. Joseph Barrell, one of the owners of those vessels. During the British surveys by Mr. G. H. Inskip in 1853 the name was changed to its present form Houston Stewart Channel in honor of William Houston Stewart, who later rose to the rank of admiral in the British Navy. The same waterway was for a time called Ibbertson's Sound, so named by Captain George Dixon in 1787.

Oter and other furs chiefly for Iron and Cloth. Copper was not in demand. The boats were sent frequently after wood and water, but were always well arm'd. The Natives supplied us with plenty of Halibut and Rock Cod, for which we paid them in *Nails*. Wild fowl was plenty in this Sound, of which we caught and kill'd many. I landed at one of their villages, found the Indians comfortably lodg'd, and kept large fires, although the weather was temperate. When I went into one of their houses they was eating roast muscles and singing a warlike Song. They appear'd fond of our visit and never offer'd to molest any thing in the boat. Their canoes are not made near so neat as those we had seen before, but I think was more commodious. The females was not very chaste, but their lip pieces was enough to disgust any civilized being. However some of the Crew was quite partial.

IN THE STRAITS OF ADMIRAL DEFONT.

17. Weigh'd and left Barrells sound, bound to the Straits of Admiral De Font,\*<sup>12</sup> which is form'd by the Charlotte Isles and the *Main*.

18. N. Latt. 51° 34'. Wind from Westward and pleasant, beating to and fro, off the South pt. of Charlotte Isles, endeavouring to get into the Straits.

23. N. Latt. 52° 26'; W. Long. 131° 30'; Azi. 20° 22' E. Spoke the Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim<sup>13</sup> master from Boston, on the same business with ourselves. Soon parted.

24. N. Latt. 53° 6'. A small Isle, in the Straits bore North at Meridian, which we named *Hatches*. Weather is generally clear,

\* Rio de Rayer of Admiral Fonte.—W. C. F.

<sup>12</sup> Now known as Hecate Strait, an honor for the paddle-wheel sloop which arrived for survey service in December, 1860.

<sup>13</sup> Captain Joseph Ingraham was formerly mate of the *Columbia*. The manuscript journal of his voyage in the *Hope* is in the Library of Congress. A photostated copy is in the Library of the University of Washington, and a copy is also in the Archives of the Province of British Columbia. Judge F. W. Howay has published a careful study of the journal in the Washington Historical Quarterly, Volume XI., pages 3-28. Boit's brief mention of the meeting on July 23, 1791, is more fully treated by Captain Ingraham as follows: "At 6 in the morning we discovered a sail to the south'd of us and a head as we were standing. I soon discovered it to be the *Columbia* and determin'd to speak her—accordingly we made sail towards them as soon as I tho't they could see us plain. I had a French flag hoisted at our Fore top gallant masthead and fir'd 2 guns which was the signall I inform'd Mr. Haswell I should make if I saw him on the coast in the small vessel the *Columbia* had on board in frame and which he was to command at 8 o'clock we were alongside each other. We saluted them with 3 cheers which were return'd. I went on board the *Columbia* agreeable to Capn. Grays polite invitation. I had the happiness to find Captain Gray and all on board well likewise I received by this vessell Letters from my Friends in Boston which altho dated but 10 days after our departure was yet a great satisfaction. For these letters I am indebted to Mr. Haswell who bro't them unknown to the Owners of the *Columbia*. These gentlemen filled with envy and malice against all who went to share with them this valuable trade gave orders that no Letters should be borne out in their ship to any one on board the *Hope*." John Hoskins, clerk or supercargo of the *Columbia*, kept a journal, which is saved as a valuable manuscript by the Massachusetts Historical Society. A copy is in the Library of the University of Washington. Mr. Hoskins describes this meeting with Captain Ingraham and records the three cheers of good will. He gives a brief record of Captain Ingraham's experiences and of the tragic death of the younger Captain Metcalf among the Sandwich Islands.



so that the *Isles* and Main are distinctly seen together. Found ground at 120 fm. The Natives wou'd often come along side from the Main, or *Isles*, as we border'd on either shore, and brought furs and plenty of Halibut, which you cou'd buy for a board Nail apiece.

28. N. Latt.  $53^{\circ} 14'$ ; W. Long.  $132^{\circ} 0'$ ; Azi.  $21^{\circ} 35'$  E. Ship over towards the Main. Sent an officer in the pinnace in search of anchorage. Found the land hereabouts low and barren near the shore, but rises back into high mountains. Find excessive strong currents in these Straits. The Natives on the Main speak a language different from those on the Islands. Boat returned without success.

30. N. Latt.  $52^{\circ} 47'$ ; W. Long.  $131^{\circ} 0'$ . Fresh gales and stormy weather. At Meridian Charlotte Isles extended from SBW to WBN 8 or 10 leagues. Some Canoes full of Indians boarded us from the Isles. They inform'd us that severall English vessels had visited not long since. We purchased a good lot of furs, chiefly for Iron and Cloth.

31. Stood towards the Islands, and anchored in 24 fm. with a Kedge. Light wind from NW. A Chief (by name *Cumswah*)<sup>14</sup> brought us several fine Sea Otter skins.

August 1. Wind from SE. Standing along the Queen Charlotte Isles, through De Font straits, about 3 or 4 leagues from land, soundings generally from 15 to 25 fm. mud. The main land in sight to the North and West'd at a great distance.

2. Fresh gales and very thick weather. Narrowly escaped running on a reef of rocks. Quite foggy and see the land but seldom, beating to and fro. Wind from the Eastward.

3. N. Latt.  $54^{\circ} 43'$ ; W. Long.  $132^{\circ} 23'$ . Heavy gales from SE. and thick weather, found the Ship embay'd, employ'd making short hanks. At length we being too nigh the shore for to keep off, through the night, we was alarm'd with all the horrors of a lee shore. A small opening appearing in the land to leeward, hove out the pinnace and sent an officer to examine for anchorage. At 6 in the evening she made a signal for a Harbour. Bore away and anchored under a point of land, in 17 fm. sandy bottom, let go three anchors, it being a wild road stead. We remain'd in this station, which we call'd Port *Tempest*<sup>15</sup> till the 8th and only four

<sup>14</sup> His name is preserved on the charts in Cumshewa Inlet at the northeastern extremity of Moresby Island, one of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Captain Ingraham's journal gives the chief's name as Cummasbawaa, and others gave it as Gumshewa. He was a man of power in the days of the traders.

<sup>15</sup> From the entry of August 1, it is clear that Prince of Wales Island was mistaken for the mainland and it may be that Port Tempest was on the southern shore of that large island.

Indians made their appearance, and I believe there was no villages in the vicinity. Made severall excursions, with boats, and procur'd many Salmon and plenty of Berries. In one of these excursions I discover'd a small *rivulet*, not deep enough to admit the boat. In it we caught upwards of 100 fine salmon, chiefly with the boat hook and grainz, and shot a deer upon the banks. Crew all in health.

8. Got under way and left Port Tempest (situated on the main land of America), stood over for land in sight to the North'd and westward, and as we approach'd it severall Canoes came off, with furs and halibut.

10. N. Latt.  $55^{\circ} 0'$ ; W. Long.  $133^{\circ} 0'$ . Light winds and pleasant, standing to the NW. and 6 P. M. came to with the Kedge 28 fm. Port Tempest bearing NEBN. 12 leagues. The Natives brought us plenty of fine Otter furs. Their Canoes are the same as at Charlotte Isles, some of them capable of carrying 30 men. They go well arm'd, with bows, arrows and spears, and appear to be a savage race. I went in the Cutter—well arm'd—to a small cove, not far distant from the Ship, and soon caught 9 large Halibut. The Ship was concealed by a point of land, making out from the NE. part of the Cove.

12. Still laying at anchor in same situation as on the 10th, the nearest land not above  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile distant, and the point of the *Cove* I was fishing in on 10 inst. about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Mr. Caswell this morning took a Boatswain Mate and one Seaman with him in the Jolly Boat, by the permission of Capt. Gray, and went to the *Cove* a fishing. A breeze springing up soon after, and wishing to leave this place, a six pounder was fir'd, a signal for the boat to return. She not appearing, soon after two more Cannon was fir'd. Got the Ship under way and stood off and on, and sent the pinnace under charge of the 4th officer in search of the small boat. Soon after we see the Pinnace returning with the Jolly Boat in tow, without any person in her and soon discover'd they had the Boats Colours hoisted half mast. With this melancholy token they approach'd the Ship, when we soon discover'd our worthy friend, and brother officer, Mr. *Joshua Caswell* (2d) lay dead in the bottom of the boat, strip'd perfectly naked and stab'd in upwards of twenty places. They saw nothing of John Folger (the boatswains mate) but Joseph Barnes (the Sailor) lay dead on the beach, and quite naked. Fearing the Natives lay in *ambush*, they did not land to take of the *Corps*. It is probable they were beset upon by a great superiority of natives, prompted by a desire to possess their cloaths and arms. As soon as the boats return'd made sail for *Port Tem-*

*pest*, and anchor'd in the evening, at our former station. In Mr. Caswell I lost a firm and steady friend. He was a man of mild and gentle temper, a complete Seaman, and in short was posses of every qualification that bespoke the gentleman.<sup>16</sup> Observ'd that the day previous to this disastrous affair few Indians had visited the Ship.

## NW. END OF CHARLOTTE ISLE.

13. N. Latt.  $54^{\circ} 43'$ ; W. Long.  $132^{\circ} 23'$ . Calm, and temperate weather. At 8 in the morning the 4th Officer was dispatch'd with a party well arm'd in the Pinnacle, for to dig a grave for our worthy *friend*. At 9 the pinnacle return'd. At 10 left the Ship with three boats, under charge of Mr. Hazwell, 1st Officer, with the corps, the Ship firing minute guns. At 11 Capt. Gray landed in a small boat, and after performing divine service, we *inter'd* the remains of our departed, and much beloved, *friend*, with all the solemnity we was capable of.

The place was gloomy, and nothing was to be heard but the bustling of an aged oak, whose lofty branches hung wavering o'er the grave, together with the meandering brook, the Cries of the Eagle, and the weeping of his friends added solemnity to the scene. *So ends.*

15. Weighed, and left Port Tempest, wind at NW. At sunset it bore NBW. 6 leagues, and (Massacre Cove)<sup>17</sup> West 5 Miles. Saw none of the Natives. No doubt the Rascles wou'd have destroy'd the Jolly boat after they had massacred our unfortunate countrymen, had not the Ship's guns alarm'd them. Standing to the South and E.

<sup>16</sup> The Hoskins manuscript has a similar appreciation of the slain officer and some additional facts about him as follows: "Mr. Joshua Caswell was about twenty six years of age born of reputable parents in the Town of Malden a small town about four miles from Boston early in life he went to sea in the beginning of the late war he was so unfortunate as to be taken by the English who retained him a prisoner during the greatest part of the remainder of it on the happy return of peace he again followed the sea and by his merit soon rose to be a Captain in the merchant service this he gave up and took the office of second mate of this ship having a great prediliction for the voyage in every respect he was a reputable good seaman of a most happy serene placid disposition in most cases too passive he was loved and beloved by all who knew him he was an honest man which Pope says 'is the noblest work of God.'"

<sup>17</sup> The cove thus named is not easily located. The points given would fix the place in Dixon Entrance. Captain Ingraham's manuscript journal says the tragedy occurred on the main in latitude 55. Robert Greenbow in *Oregon and California*, pages 229-30, who cites the log of the *Columbia*, says that Captain Gray explored what Vancouver later named Portland Canal and part of it Gray called Massacre Cove on account of the murder of Caswell and two seamen. Captain Walbran in *British Columbia Coast Names*, page 323, accepts that location and gives the present name of the cove as Halibut Bay. The journal before us certainly locates the cove and Port Tempest nearer the open sea. See the entry for August 18, saying Massacre Cove and Hancock River on the northwest coast of Queen Charlotte Island are but twenty leagues apart. H. H. Bancroft in *Northwest Coast*, Volume I., page 25, quotes Greenbow giving the date of the tragedy as August 22 but adds in a footnote that it must have been earlier. This record fixes the date as August 12, 1791. The Hoskins manuscript says that Port Tempest and Massacre Cove are parts of an extensive inlet to which they gave the name of Brown's Sound and fixed the points at 55 deg. 18 min. north latitude and 132 deg. 20 min. west longitude. If these descriptions could be studied by someone familiar with those shores a more complete identification of the cove might be arrived at.

16. This day spoke the Brig *Hancock* of Boston, Samuel Crowell, Master. They was on the same business as ourselves, and had been pretty successful. Capt. Crowell inform'd that his Longboat was cruizing among the Charlotte Isles, under charge of his 2nd Officer. The Brig kept us company.

18. Pleasant weather. Came to anchor, in a River, which Capt. Crowell had named Hancocks, situated on the NW part of the Queen Charlotte Isles, in company with the Brig, 6 fm. water, mud. The Brig's Longboat we found at this place, vast many of the Natives along side the Ship, and a few furs was purchased. Capt. Crowell had, upon some trifling offence, fir'd upon these Indians, by which a number of them fell, (such wanton cruelty throws him upon a levell with the savage), and perhaps this same fray was the means of our losing our worthy 2nd Officer as the places are not 20 leagues distant and mayhap they reck'd their Vengeance upon us, thinking us all of one tribe. If it was so, bad luck to Crowell. Amen.

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOUR.

19. N. Latt.  $54^{\circ} 12'$ ; W. Long.  $132^{\circ} 25'$ . Fine weather. The Hancock saild on a Cruize. The land about this River, is the best without exception I've yet seen, on the NW. Coast, and a place well calculated for a *Factory* for to reap the advantages of the fur trade.<sup>18</sup> The Natives, I dare say, have always plenty of *Otters*, and there is fish in abundance. Hove up, and came to sail towards evening and stood to sea, light winds and very strong tides. At sunsett Murderers Cape bore NNW. at a great distance.

20. N. Latt.  $53^{\circ} 49'$ ; W. Long.  $133^{\circ} 24'$ . Soundings from 7 to 12 fm., shoal water about these parts of Charlotte Isles. Standing to the Southward through Defont straits, running along the Isles in from 15 to 30 fm. according to distance off shore, these Charlotte Isles are from the Latt.  $51^{\circ} 55'$  to  $54^{\circ} 24'$  N. and from Longitude  $131^{\circ} 0'$  to  $133^{\circ}$  W.

22. N. Latt.  $53^{\circ} 2'$ ; W. Long.  $131^{\circ} 31'$ ; Amp'd  $20^{\circ} 2'$  E. O  $\llcorner$  Many of Indians of this day from Cumswah village, in Charlcot<sup>19</sup> Isles, brought a few skins, but I think they are pretty well drain'd. Came to, with the Kedge in 20 fm. about 2 miles from shore. Soon after see a Boat rowing towards us, and heard a Cannon fir'd in the

<sup>18</sup> This same good opinion was held by Captain Ingraham who wrote: "I informed Senor Quadra several particulars relative to Hancock's River on the North part of Washington Isles." On the former voyage Captain Gray had given the name "Washington" to the Queen Charlotte Islands.

<sup>19</sup> He meant to write it "Charlotte."

sound. At 3 P. M. Mr. Cruft, 1st Officer of the American Brig *Hope* (which we had spoke with before) came along side, with Capt. Ingrahim's compliments, and offer'd to be the bearer of Letters, as he was shortly bound for Canton.<sup>20</sup> We readily embraced the *opportunity*. At dark Mr. Cruft left us. Up Kedge and bore away to the southward and East'd.

23. N. Latt. 52° 37'; W. Long. 130° 22'. The SE part of Charlotte Isles bore SE½E. 12 leagues, light winds and variable. A Canoe boarded us, at this great distance, and brought many prime furs.

28. N. Latt. 49° 20'; W. Long. 127° 16'. At Noon this day, Nootka (or King Georges sound) bore ENE. 10 leagues. Since the 23d we have never lost sight of the Continent. 'T is very high land. Saw *whales*.

29. N. Latt. 49° 5'; W. Long. 126° 0'. At Noon the entrance of Cliaquot (or Coxes harbour) bore NE 4 leagues. Standing in for the harbour, and towards evening anchor'd in our former station, vast many of the Natives along side, and seem'd glad to see us again. Found riding here the Brig *Lady Washington*,<sup>21</sup> of Boston, John Kendrick, *master*. He had made up his Voyage and was bound for Canton. He appear'd happy in meeting with his old friends.

N. Latt. 49° 9'; W. Long. 125° 26' O ◊ \* ◊ . Captain Kendrick inform'd us that he had had a skirmish, with the Natives at *Barrells* sound in Queen Charlotte Isles, and was oblig'd to kill upwards of 50 of them before they wou'd desist from the attack. It appear'd to me, from what I cou'd collect that the Indians was the aggressors. This Brig *Lady Washington* was a Sloop when she left Boston, but Capt. Kendrick had alterd her rig in Canton the year before. I was sorry to find that *Kendrick* had made no remittances, to the owners, since he had parted with the *Columbia* the first voyage, although since that period he had made two successful trips from this Coast to Canton. As the Vessells still belong'd to the same owners he was under some mistrust that Capt. Gray was empower'd to seize the Brig, and kept himself

<sup>20</sup> On July 23, Captain Ingraham expressed himself about the mall brought to him against the orders of the owners of the *Columbia*. He does not gloat over this opportunity of returning good for evil. He wrote: "I sent my boat with an officer to present my compliments to Capn. Gray and inform him I was bound to China (this season) and as I knew he must winter on the coast to set up the small vessel he had in frame, I would bear any commands he might have for America with pleasure and forward them from Canton by some ship of our nation."

<sup>21</sup> Consort of the *Columbia* on the former voyage.

always ready against attack.<sup>22</sup> We tarried in this harbour till the 8th Sept., during which time collected many Sea Otter and other furs, and fish in abundance. These Natives miss'd Mr. Caswell, and it was thought proper to inform them that he had died a *natural death*.

September 8. Weighed and beat out of the harbour, wind at SW. At Noon Clioquot bore NW. 6 leagues standing toward Juan De Fuca straits.

IN THE STRAITS OF JUAN DE FUCA.

11. N. Latt. 48° 15'; W. Long. 124° 30'. This day abreast Cape Flattery, on the SE. part of De Fuca entrance, vast many of the Natives along. Purchas'd many *Otters*. These Indians told us, there was five sail of Spaniards up the straits. At Midnight saw *Tatoosh* Isle, bearing NNE. 3 miles. Thought ourselves further off shore. Almost calm, and an excessive strong tide sweeping us between some ledges and the Isle. At daylight thick fog, saw the Rocks a head, within pistol shot, with high breakers. Out all Boats, and just towed the Ship clear. Our situation was truly alarming, but we had no business so near the land in thick weather. However *Good Luck* prevail'd and a breeze springing up from offshore we stretch'd out clear in *Boats*. Foggy disagreeable weather. Cou'd observe at intervals that the woods were on fire.<sup>23</sup>

12. Wind NE. Heard the roaring of Breakers, foggy, haul'd more off shore. At 3 P. M. saw a rock about stone's throw distant, and narrowly escaped being dash'd upon it — damn nonsense to keep beating about among rocks, in foggy weather. At midnight heard the surf roar again, which I suppose to be on the North side of the Straits, sounded and found ground at 25 fm. Rocks. The Captain, at length, was frightened,<sup>24</sup> and proceeded with the Ship to a good offing (this ought to have been done long before), thick foggy weather, with a moderate breeze.

16. N. Latt. 48° 14'; W. Long. 124° 30' ☉ \*. Fog clear'd off, saw Cape *Flattery* bearing NNE. 2 leagues. Very strong tides. At Noon we were about 2 miles from *Tatooch* Isle. Came to with the Kedge, sandy bottom, the Island bearing North. I think it

<sup>22</sup> Robert Haswell's journal, August 29, 1791:—"At 4 P. M. a canoe came off and informed us that Capt. Kendrick was in the harbor. At 5 saw his boat coming off. Fired a gun and hoisted our colors. This was answered and he came alongside and was saluted with 3 cheers. \* \* \* Capt. Kendrick spent the evening with us, and went late aboard his own vessel." Mr. Haswell spent the next afternoon with Captain Kendrick and found that he had beached his vessel to grave her and had piled his stores and provisions in a place which he called "Port Washington." (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. I., p. 722.)

<sup>23</sup> A bit of evidence that forest fires were here in 1791 before the first white settlers arrived.

<sup>24</sup> When Captain Cook named Cape Flattery (see footnote 10 above) he encountered a storm and took his ship from this same dangerous shore out into the open sea.

possible there is a passage between Cape Flattery and this Isle of Tatooch; it appears about 2 miles wide. However cou'd see breakers between them and currents are excessive strong, as we cou'd discern them to foam in that narrow pass. Many Natives came off, and we purchas'd a few skins and plenty *Halibut*. Weigh'd and came to sail towards evening, bound to *Clioquot*.

AT ANCHOR IN CLIOQUOT HARBOUR.

18. N. Latt.  $49^{\circ} 9'$ ; W. Long.  $125^{\circ} 26'$ . This day anchor'd in our Old Station in Clioquot harbour, found the Brig *Lady Washington* still riding here. At this Harbour Captain Gray had determin'd to winter, if he cou'd find a suitable place, for to build a Sloop of 45 Tons, for to assist in collecting furs, on the next season. The stem and stern post, with part of the floor timbers had been brought from Boston for this purpose.

19. On the 19th Capt. Gray went with two boats up the sound, for to seek a convenient cove. In the evening the Captain return'd, having found a place to his mind, about 4 leagues from where the Ship lay.

WINTER QUARTERS. LATT.  $49^{\circ} 9' N$ ; LONG.  $125^{\circ} 30' W$ .

20. On the 20th weigh'd, with light airs, and with the Boats ahead, assisted by the Brig's Crew, we tow'd, and sail'd, into winter quarters, which we call'd Adventure Cove,<sup>25</sup> and moor'd Ship for the winter. Vast many of the Natives along side, and appear'd to be highly pleas'd with the Idea of our tarrying among them through the Cold Season. The *Columbia* lay moor'd in this Cove till the 25th of March, 1792. I shall endeavour to give the heads of our proceedings during that period.

Adventure Cove was situated in about the Latitude of  $49^{\circ} 15'$  N. and Longitude  $125^{\circ} 30' W$ . of London, about 17 miles from the Ocean. This Cove was form'd by an Isle and the SE. shore Clioquot sound — so small, that when the Ship was moor'd, you might throw a stone upon the beach in any direction, the passage in was not to exceed 100 feet, so that we was in a complete bason. (At 25th inst. Capt. Kendrick sail'd for Canton.) The *Adventure* was set up at the back of a fine beach, the woods being previously clear'd. A Log House was erected near, mounted with two Cannon, with Loop holes for Musketry. Here Capt. Haswell, with a party of Seamen, and all the Mechanics was station'd. Near it, the Black-

<sup>25</sup> One of the coves within Clayquot Sound, possibly Tofino Inlet. The sloop they were about to build also received the name *Adventure*, by some written "Adventurer."

smiths and Boat builders Shops were plac'd; two Saw pitts was erected, and kept constantly at play, sawing *planks*, and was supplied with Logs from the sound, by Boats constantly on that duty. So that Adventure Cove soon had the appearance of a *young ship yard*. Strip'd the Ship to a gritline, and kept a gang under the directions of the Boatswain upon the rigging.

The Natives made us frequent visits, and brought a good supply of fish and some Sea Otter Skins, and by keeping a small boat down sound, with 4 of our Seamen we procured a constant supply of wild Geese, Ducks and Teal. The Geese and Teal resembled those at home, but the Ducks were exactly of the same Species, with the *tame* of our Country. We see none of any other kind. Now and then we shot a wild *turkey*.<sup>26</sup> The Natives appear'd to be highly pleased with the different works going on at the Cove. They sometimes brought us *Venison* and supplied us with as many *boards* as we wanted. *They* was all caeder, and appear'd to have been split with wedges, from the Log.<sup>27</sup>

October 7. An alarm was given by the *Centry* at the Block house, that there was *Canoes* in the Cove. Finding they was discover'd they soon went off.

13. The frame of the Sloop was up complete, and this day brought the Garboard streak of Plank to her bottom. This is what I call dispatch. *Wickananish*,<sup>28</sup> high Chief, came on board, with severall of the Royal family. He inform'd that his winter village was a great way off, which occasion'd his visiting us so seldom. He went on shore, and astonishment was conspicuous in his countenance at the work going on there. The Natives was very much puzzled to know how we shou'd get the Sloop off when finish'd, as she was 75 foot back from high water mark. *Wickananish* is the most powerful chief we have yet seen on this Coast. His tribe consists of upwards of 3000 souls. They allow Polygamy, but the women are not prolific, as barrenness is very common among them. The Indians girls kept us well supplied with *Berries* of different kinds, which was very gratefull.

14. We was inform'd this day that Capt. Crowell, in the Brig *Hancock*, was at Juan de Fuca straits.

27. The Natives brought us some excellent Salmon. Experience much rain, which hinders the work. When the weather is too bad for to work on the Sloop, keep the Carpenters under shelter

26 There were no wild turkeys there. It must have been a large grouse.

27 Such boards were observed in 1905 at Neah Bay and Tatoosh Island. They seemed ancient and it was thought that stone axes had been used in shaping them.

28. Captain Meares in 1788 spelled the chief's name *Wicananish*, which form is used by Hubert Howe Bancroft (*Northwest Coast*).



making a *boat* for her. Heard of three Spanish ships being at Nootka. Keep always upon our guard against surprize as we are among a powerful sett. The boat after game, met with some *Indians* that was a little troublesome, but by firing a musket over their heads they soon went off. These *Indians* was very enquisitive, for to know the cause of thunder and lightning, but we cou'd not make them understand the real cause, but much surprized them by saying there was a man in our Country, that made both. They suppose thunder to b̄e occasioned by an Eagle carrying a Whale into the air,<sup>29</sup> and *Lightning*, the hissing of a *Snake*, which are exceeding large in this country. One of our Seamen, being down sound a gunning, saw one of these animals, which by his discription was as big round as his thigh. Being alone, and somewhat frightened, retir'd without firing. These *Indians* are very superstitious in regard to this Animal, for when they go on a whaling cruize they always rub their face with a piece of it. We have never been able to gain much information as respects their Religion, but they certainly pay adoration to the *Sun*, and *Moon*, and believe in Good and evil Spirits. They lash their dead on the trees, first stowing them in a box 3 or 4 feet long. The Head and Legs are cut off to make good stowage, and little valuables that belong to the deseas'd are bury'd with them. Capt. Gray went to an Indian Village for to look at a *Chief*, said to be very sick. On his arrivall he was received very cordially, and conducted to the sick man's house, which was full of people. In one Corner lay the Sick Chief, and around him eight strong men, which kept pressing his stomach with their hands, and making a most hideous Bow-wowing, in the poor fellow's ears. Upon the Captain's approach he suppos'd the Chief to be nearly dead, and order'd this band of *Doctors* to desist.

December 22. Having made him some *gruell* to take, the Chief soon came to a little, and order'd two Sea Otter skins as a present. After giving him a Wine toast he order'd him to be left to sleep, and visited a number of Chiefs houses, the masters of which treated him with an attention not very common among savages. (He *returned on board*.) I made an excursion to this same Village, not long after. As soon as I landed, Men, Women, and Children came down to the beach to receive me, but did not offer to molest the boat. Found the sick *Chief* much better,

<sup>29</sup> At Maquinna Point, entrance to Nootka Sound, there was observed in 1903 a large and ornate figure of the thunder bird towering with outstretched wings over the whale. It was placed there in honor of Chief Maquinna, a successor of the original chief of that name. It related to the same legend mentioned in this text. Indian women had participated in the honor mentioned by sacrificing two valuable Singer sewing machines, which in 1903 were badly weather scarred.

and reliev'd him from his pressing and noisy friends. The house was large and commodious, and wou'd hold fifty *Indians* very comfortably. All round was packages of Fish in *Boxes*, and decorated with *pearl shells*. Their furniture consisted chiefly of matts, and wooden boxes, which last serves to boil their fish in, which they easily do by applying red hot stones, till it boils. They neither scale or draw the fish, but as it comes from the water, so it goes into the box, to boil, or on the Coals to broil. There was severall fires about the house but being there being no chimnies, the smoak was too mighty for my eyes. They sleep on boards, rais'd about a foot from the ground, and cover'd with matts, rolling themselves up with furs. Over the sick man's head there was a board cut out in the shape of a heart, and stuck full of Otter's teeth, with a long spear on each side of him. His young wife did not appear to be affected at the sight of her sick husband, but the Father and Mother was watching their Son, with the most parental affection. After boiling him some rice and leaving more with his mother, I left the village and returned safe on board.

25. This day was kept in mirth and festivity by all the *Columbia's* Crew, and the principal Chiefs of the sound, by invitation, din'd on board ship. The Natives took a walk around the work shops on shore. They was surprized at seeing three tire of wild fowl roasting, at one of the houses — indeed we was a little surprized at the novelty of the sight ourselves, for at least there was 20 Geese roasting at one immense fire, and the Ship's Crew appear'd very happy, most of them being on shore. The *Indians* cou'd not understand why the Ship's and houses was decorated with spruce bows.<sup>30</sup> At 12 clock fir'd a federal Salute, and ended the day toasting our *sweethearts* and *wifes*.

1792. *January* 1. This day, being down sound, with the Jolly boat after game, I stopt at the village. Visited *Yethlan* the sick Chief, and found him much better. The family treated me extremely well. I received many pressing invitations from the rest of the Chiefs, for to visit their houses, and complied with most of them, and was particularly pleas'd at visiting *Wickananish's* dwelling, who this day had given an entertainment to all the warriors of his Villages, with many visitors from distant villages. As soon as the *King* saw me I was call'd towards him, and seated upon his right. This house was about 80 foot long, and 40 broad, and about 12 feet high, with a flat roof. The *King* was elevated about two feet higher than the company, with a Canopy over his head, stuck full

<sup>30</sup> One of the earliest celebrations of Christmas on the north Pacific coast.

of animals teeth. The Company consisted of above 100 men, all considerably advanced in years. The Women belonging to the house was in an apartment by themselves, busily employ'd making their Bark Garment. The Machines for that purpose, is not unlike the Looms with us. They are very neat and dexterous in this business. The entertainment (which consisted of Fish Spawn mixed with Berries and train Oil,) was served up in wooden Bowls, handed by the lower Orders of males. I was invited strongly to partake, but the Smell was enough—therefore pleaded indisposition. After they had done, the remains was sent to the *females*. The King inform'd they was going to have a dance in the evening, and wish'd me for to stay. However I declin'd, and return'd on board. This Village was 3 leagues from Adventure Cove. Capt. Hannah, a Chief of the village, Ahhousett sometimes came to see his old friends (as he call'd us). He resided 9 leagues from the Cove but was under the Jurisdiction of *Wickananish*.

6. This day one of the Chiefs of Juan De Fuca Straits came on board. He was upon a visit to Wickananish, and indeed had married his sister, inform'd us there was a Spanish Ship in the Straits, brought many *furs*.

17. Began to caulk the Sloop *Adventure's* bottom, it being completely planked up. I this day made an excursion to the Village, having put myself under the car of Tatoonkasettle, one of the King's brothers, who conducted me in his *Canoe*. Upon my arrival was treated as usuall very politely. I took up my residence at Tatoonkasettle's house, who invited a large company to sup with him. After supper finding I wishd to visit some other familys he sent his servants with lighted torches, for to conduct me. I return'd back about Midnight and found there was an excellent watch kept throughout the village, each one hooping at certain intervals throughout the night. My Indian friend had made me as comfortable a berth to sleep on as was in his power, but the House being full of smoak, and the young Children very fractious, occasion'd my sleeping but little all night. In the morning early observ'd most of the Men bathing on the Beach. On enquiring the cause, was inform'd that this day the King was going to give his Eldest Son the name of Wickananish, and take another upon himself, upon which account there was to be great rejoicings. About noon, upwards of 100 men assembled upon the beach in front of the *Village*, with the King at their head. Their dress, which was exactly uniform, consisted of a *Blankett*, made

fast round the *Loins* with a Girdle, and reach'd about half way down their thighs. Their hair was turn'd up, and tyed with a thick bunch before and decorated with feathers. Their faces was painted of different colours, and their bodies of a deep red. Beads and fibres of Bark were wouled round their Ancles and Knees, and at a distance they made a grand, although savage appearance. They collected near the water, at one end of the village, in regular tiers, about four deep. At each wing many women were placed with Copper Boxes, in which was small Stones, serving as part of the music. The procession moved slowly along, the front squatting on their hams, the others standing erect, with three of the King's brothers upon their shoulders, who were dancing and running from right to left, in that position while those under them was on the Continual move. The King kept in front, giving the word of Command. All their voices kept perfect tune with the rattling of the boxes. The rest of the inhabitants were seated along the beach viewing the performance. When they arrived opposite the King's house, they enter'd single file, and I followed to see the transactions within doors. About 30 of the principal *Actors* seated themselves in a Circle, and was presented with a piece of board and a small stick. This they used instead of a Drum. The whole Company then began to dance and sing, and the Musicians joining, made it very pleasing. But the *Smell* was too strong for my *Organs*. Therefore soon drew off. These *Natives* are mild and chearfull, with little of that savage appearance that Savages generally have. Their Complexions is very light Copper, but they darken it with Oil and Paint. The Hair is coarse, long and black. 'T is a general custom to eat their own *Vermin*,<sup>31</sup> and they are so plenty that they will often make a decent repast. The Men are generally thick set with flat noses and broad faces. The Women are pretty. Their eyes are rather small, and though they are not very quick and piercing, they give the countenance a frank, chearfull, and pleasing cast. We understood from the *Natives* that they sometimes made Human sacrifices, and shocking to relate, that they eat the flesh of such poor *victims*. However I do not believe that this custom is very common and only happens on some very particular Occasion. A prisoner of War is the person selected for this savage feast.<sup>32</sup>

18. This day severall chiefs came on board, one of which we found was busily employ'd talking with our Sandwich Island lad.

<sup>31</sup> This filthy habit has been observed by many visitors among the coast tribes.

<sup>32</sup> This description of the natives and the visit on shore are more fully recorded in the Hoskins manuscript. Mr. Hoskins says that he was invited by Chief "Tootiscoosettle" and "I therefore went in his boat accompanied by Mr. Boit and tarried until the following day at sunset."

Their conversation was soon put a stop to, and the *Lad* examin'd, but he denyd that the Chief ask'd him any improper questions. These Natives, always behaving so friendly, occasion'd us to place too much confidence in them, and what a pity it is, that we cou'd not leave this *port*, with that opinion of them which we had heretofore held; But alas! We find them to be still a savage tribe, and only waiting an opportunity for to Massacre the whole of us, in cold blood. The Ship had been brought some days previous to this, to a bluff point of Rocks, where she lay'd as to a wharfe, not even touching the ground at low water. The Cannon and all the stores was landed here, as we was about hauling on the beach to grave and pay the Bottom. The situation of the Ship at this period was very favorable to their views, and must have encouraged them with the hope of destroying the whole of us; without the loss of a man on their side. However in this they wou'd have been mistaken, as we kept a strong watch, under the conduct of an Officer and was always guarded against surprize. But shou'd we have been overpow'd by numbers, our friends perhaps never wou'd have known our sad fate.

But fortunately, in the evening, the Sandwich Island lad made a confession to his Master, (as follows).<sup>33</sup> He said *Tatoochkasettle*, (the Chief) told him, that Wickananish was about to take the Ship and Massacre all the Crew, and said he shou'd be a great man if he wou'd wet our *Musketts*, and steal for him some *Bulletts*. He said they shou'd come that night, or the next, and told him to come over to them, when the fray first began. This news alarm'd the Ship's Company exceedingly, and we immediately got in readiness to receive them. Capt. Gray call'd his officers together, for to consult what was best to be done, and we was unanimously of opinion that 't was best to haul the Ship on the *ways*, and grave her, as the tide then suited, and we cou'd retreat in safety to the Block House shou'd the Natives appear, (where we had several *Cannon* mounted and good *quarters*.) This plan was immediately put in execution, leaving a strong guard on the point for to guard the *Stores*, with necessary signals shou'd they want relief. By midnight one side of the Ship was finish'd, when we heard a most hideous hooping of *Indians*, and at every shout they seem'd to come nearer. Every man immediately took his arms, and stood ready, both on board ship and at the Log house. They kept hooping about one hour, when they ceas'd and 't is probable retreated, lamenting their

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<sup>33</sup> Haswell gives this same record with graphic details. (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. I., pp. 725-726.) A more thrilling account is found in the Hoskins manuscript. It was certainly a narrow escape for the entire party. All hands worked feverishly during the starlit night and were prepared when the attack came just before dawn.

hard luck, that the cruel plan was so completely frustrated. The guard at the *point* saw many large Canoes off the entrance of the Cove, but like brave fellows, they scorn'd to quit the station. In the morning tide we finish'd the Ship, and haul'd again to the point, and in the course of the Day took on board all the stores and cannon, and moor'd off in the Cove, in our old berth. Scal'd the Guns, which made all rattle again, and I believe never was more work done in so short a time. But *Men determin'd* can do most any thing.

It does not appear that *Wickananish* wish'd to conquer a part of us, as he had frequent opportunitys to have accomplish'd it, for two or three times a week a boat was down at the *Village*, generally with an Officer and four Sailors, but I suppose he very prudently thought, that shou'd he cut a boat's Crew off, there was still enough left, for to destroy his Villages. The Chiefs had been telling us for some time that they was going to war with a distant tribe and wish'd for us to lend them Musketts and Ammunition, which *some* of these fellows used as well as ourselves. We had observed of late that they did not seem so cheerfull as common, but seem'd to be deeply wrapt in thought. After this, no more of the Natives visited Adventure Cove, except some old women and young girls, who brought us berries and fish — and most probable they was sent as *spies*.

*March 4.* This day the Ship was completely rig'd, hold stowed, and in every respect in readiness for sea. She look'd like a *fiddle!* The King's Mother came along side and brought some otter skins which we purchased. She told Captain Gray that the *Moon* inform'd her Son if he come to the Ship he wou'd be killd.

21. This day departed this life, after a lingering sickness, Benj. Harding (*Boatswain*).<sup>34</sup> He was a smart, active, and steady man, and one that know'd, and did *his* duty in every respect. Deposited his remains, next morning, near to the Block house, after performing divine service. Promoted a Seaman to his place.

22. Launch'd the Sloop *Adventure*. She went off admirably. Took a hawser and got her along side the Ship, and soon had her rig'd.

24. The Sloop *Adventure* is ready for sea. Capt. Haswell, 1st mate of ship, went on board and took charge, taking with him Mr. Waters (4th mate) and a crew of ten Seamen and trades-

<sup>34</sup> Haswell says that Harding was thirty one years of age and had been suffering from dymentery. Hoskins spells the name "Harden" and says he was "well respected in his office" and then adds: "The spirits of this man was surprizing the night we expected to be attacked by the natives at a time when he was not able to be removed from his bed he begged that he might have a pair of pistols laid along side of him that should the natives overpower us he might shoot the savage who came to take his life then says he I shall die in peace."

men.<sup>35</sup> I think she was one of the prettiest vessels I ever saw, of about 45 tons, with a handsome figure head and false badges, and other ways touch'd off in high stile. There was not a Butt either in the Planks on deck or sides, and the plank not above nine inches wide. She was victuall'd for a four months cruize, and supplied with Articles for the Queen Charlotte Isles trade, on which route 't was meant she shou'd go, while the Ship proceeding along the Southern Coast.

25. Pleasant weather, wind at SE. In the morning got the Remainder of our affairs from the shore, and unmoor'd. Left Adventure Cove, and stood down Sound, with the Sloop in company. We left our log houses all standing. Anchor'd abreast the Village *Opitsatah*, but found it entirely deserted. Observ'd very few Canoes moving.

During our long tarry in Adventure Cove, we all enjoy'd good health, although the Crew was at times very much exposed. The *boatswain's* sickness commenced before our arrival in the Cove. The weather was generally very fine, and very seldom had Snow, and never Ice thicker than a Spanish Dollar,<sup>36</sup> but experienced frequent heavy rains. We pick'd Whurtle and Blue berries, throughout the winter, which was very fine, and Whurtle Berry pudings was quite common with us. We kept the Crew continually supplied with Spruce beer, and their breakfast and supper was Tea boild from the green *Spruce* boughs sweetned with Molasses. Perhaps this method kept the Scurvy off. However they did not eat much Salt provisions, as we was generally supplied with Poultry, Venison, and fish.

27. I am sorry to be under the necessity of remarking that this day I was *sent*, with three boats all well man'd and arm'd, to destroy the village of *Opitsatah*. It was a Command I was no ways tenacious of, and am grieved to think Capt. Gray shou'd let his passions go so far.<sup>37</sup> *This* village was about half a mile in diameter, and contained upwards of 200 Houses, generally well built for *Indians*; every door that you enter'd was in resemblance to an human and Beasts head, the passage being through the mouth, besides which there was much more rude carved work about the

<sup>35</sup> Haswell makes no mention of this but on April 2, he says that he received his sailing orders early in the morning of that day.

<sup>36</sup> Experience with that money in Revolutionary days made the "Spanish Dollar" a familiar figure of speech.

<sup>37</sup> Haswell does not mention the destruction of this village. Hoskins records a visit to the deserted village on March 28, one day after Boit's record and does not mention the destruction. He does, however, complain bitterly about Captain Gray's policy which made confirmed enemies out of that particular tribe. Boit's record of destroying the village need not be doubted although the Hoskins manuscript calls in question the date.

dwellings some of which was by no means *inelegant*. This fine village, the work of Ages, was in a short time totally destroy'd.

CRUISING TO THE S. AND E. OF DE FUCA STRAITS.

*April 2.* Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Clio-quot harbour, and stood to the South'd with the Ship, while the Sloop haul'd her wind to the Northward. Parted, with loud *Huzzas*, a proper *rendevous*<sup>38</sup> being appointed.

3. On the 3d passed De Fuca Straits, experience blowing weather on the coast, but generally keep sight of the Land. The Shore seems sandy, and the land of a moderate height, with much clear ground fit for cultivation. Lat. 45° 15'. There is regular soundings of this Coast, which is not the case to the Northward.

7. N. Latt. 44° 56'; W. Long. 122° 52'. Very blowing weather, and quite cold. Beating off the Coast, waiting for to find a good harbour. The weather grows pleasant.

9. N. Latt. 44° 24'; W. Long. 122° 17'. Pleasant weather, wind NW. Running along shoar to the South and East'd, about 2 miles off the land trended NBE. and NBW., and look'd very pleasant. The Shore made in sandy beaches, and the land rose gradually back, into high hills and the beautiful fields of grass, interspersed among the wood lands, made it delightful.

10. N. Latt. 43° 45'; W. Long. 122° 11'. Abreast a small inlet in the land, which had some the appearance of an harbour. Hove to for some canoes that were coming off. These Natives talk'd a different language from any we have before heard. Their canoes had square stems, and the blades of the paddles oval. We purchas'd of them many fine Otter skins for Copper and Iron. They had some raw *Buffaloe*<sup>39</sup> in the canoes, which they offer'd us for sale, and greedily devour'd some of it, in that state, as a recommendation. I'm fearfull these fellows are *Caniballs*. Mr. *Smith*, 2d Officer, was sent in the Cutter to look for an harbour but was unsuccessful. Bore off and made sail. Cape Gregory (so call'd by Capt. Cook) bore SE. Variation. Amp'd 15° 57' East.

11. N. Latt. 42° 50'; W. Long. 122° 3'; Amp'd 16° 42' E. Some Canoes came along side full of Indians and brought a few Otter and Beaver skins. Cape Mendocin bore ESE. 2 leagues. Hauld again to the Northward.

17. N. Latt. 44° 54'; W. Long. 122° 23'; Azi. 16° 57' E. Sent the Boat, under charge of 2d officer, to examine an inlet

<sup>38</sup> The place will be found to be Columbia's Cove.

<sup>39</sup> He may have referred to elk. There were no buffaloes on the coast. He made a similar blunder as to wild turkeys. See note 26.



abreast the Ship, to see if there was safe anchorage, but was *unsuccessful*. A large Canoe came along side full of the Natives. By their behaviour the *Columbia* was the first ship *they* ever saw.

22. N. Latt. 46° 39'; W. Long. 122° 50'; Azi. 17° 33' E. Still beating about, in pursuit of anchorage. Sent the boat in shore often, but cou'd find no safe harbour. The Natives frequently came along side, and brought Otter furs and fish. Their language to us was unintelligible. Experience strong currents setting to the southward. We have frequently seen many appearances of good harbours,<sup>40</sup> but the currents and squally weather hindered us from a strict examination. However Capt. Gray is determin'd to persevere in the pursuit.

AT ANCHOR OFF THE VILLAGE KENKOMITT.

27. N. Latt. 47° 52'; W. Long. 123° 30'. O  $\alpha$ . This day stood in shore, the weather having become more settled, and anchor'd with the Kedge in 15 fm. sand, abreast a village, call'd by the Natives *Kenekomitt*, which was situate on a small Hill, just back of the Beach. The Indians brought us a fine lot of *Skins*, which we got chiefly for Copper, but the weather coming again unsettled, we weigh'd towards evening and stood off making short hanks off and on, shore. These Indians spoke the same language as those in De Fuca straits.

28. This day spoke his Britannic Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*, commanded by Capt. *George Vancouver*, and Lieutenant Wm. Broughton, from England, on a voyage of discovery.<sup>41</sup> Left England April 1st, 1791, Do. Otaheita January, '92, and Sand-

<sup>40</sup> Among these was the evidence of a great river at 46 deg. 10 min., as will appear later.

<sup>41</sup> Captain Vancouver gives an account of this meeting as follows: "At four o'clock, a sail was discovered to the westward standing in shore. This was a very great novelty, not having seen any vessel but our consort, during the last eight months. She soon hoisted American colours, and fired a gun to leeward. At six we spoke her. She proved to be the ship *Columbia*, commanded by Mr. Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months. Having little doubt of his being the same person who had formerly commanded the sloop *Washington*, I desired he would bring to, and sent Mr. Puget and Mr. Menzies on board to acquire such information as might be serviceable in our future operations." Captain Vancouver was delighted to learn that Captain Gray, while in the *Lady Washington*, had not made the "singular voyage behind Nootka" with which he was credited by publications in England. He records some of the information obtained by his officers from Captain Gray, including: "He likewise informed them of his having been off the mouth of a river in the latitude of 46° 10', where the outset, or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days." In a later entry Captain Vancouver thoroughly scouts the idea of such a river, saying: "We could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbour, or place of security for shipping on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet [Cape Flattery]; nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert, in that space, the existence of arms of the ocean, communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers, with safe and convenient ports." (*Voyage of Discovery Round the World*, second edition, Vol. II., pp. 41, 42, 43, 59.) Another journal of Vancouver's voyage has a similar denial as follows: "So far as we had yet proceeded up these Straights, we had seen no opening, nor the appearance of any Harbour, on the Southern, or Continental Shore; now two or three openings present themselves, and as the great object of the voyage was if possible to discover a communication by water between this Coast and the Lakes situated on the other side of America, the Continental Shore must of course be kept always aboard and all openings minutely explored." (*A New Vancouver Journal on the Discovery of Puget Sound, By a Member of the Chatham's Crew*. Edited by Edmond S. Meany, 1915, p. 6.)

wich Isles March, '92. A boat boarded us from the *Discovery*, and we gave them all the information in our power. Especially as respected the Straits of Juan De Fuca, which place they was then in search of. They bore away for the Straits mouth, which was not far distant. Stood in and drain'd the village we was at yesterday and then bore off after the English ships.

29. Pass'd Tatooch Isle, close on board, and left a large ledge of Rocks without us, and stood into the Straits of De Fuca. Many Indians came off and brought plenty of furs. The English ships came too towards evening on the South entrance of the straits. In the morning they got under way and stood up. We stood in and anchor'd, to the Westward of Cape Flattery, in 17 fm. Trade not very brisk. Got under weigh again towards evening and stood to the S. and E. along shore.

May 1. N. Latt.  $47^{\circ} 52'$ ; W. Long.  $123^{\circ} 30'$ ; Azi.  $17^{\circ} 30'$  E. Anchor'd off the Village Kenekomitt,<sup>42</sup> in the place we left on the 27th April. Tatooch Isle bore WBS. 2 leagues. A brisk trade for furs.

3. Hove up and made sail for the Straits, the weather looking threatening and soon enter'd them, found smooth water. Kept beating to and fro, in preference to casting anchor.

5. Stood in toward Tatooch's Isle. The Natives brought plenty of *Halibut* and other fish, but few *Skins*. Stretch'd out from De Fuca Straits and bore off to the S. and E., running along shore, about 2 miles from land.

6. Hove to for some Canoes to come up. They brought us fish but no *skins*. Bore off. These fellows belong'd to a small village in sight from the Ship, call'd *Goliew*.

#### AT ANCHOR IN GRAY'S HARBOUR.

7. N. Latt.  $46^{\circ} 58'$ . Saw an inlet in the land, which had all the appearance of an harbour. Sent the Cutter, under charge of 2d Officer, to examine it. Laying to, a strong current with Squally weather. The Boat return'd, and the Officer reported that he cou'd find nothing but breakers at the entrance, but farther in it had the appearance of a good harbour. This appearance being so flattering, Capt. Gray was determin'd not to give it up. Therefore ordering the boat a head to sound, with necessary signalls, the Ship stood in for the weather bar and we soon see, from the Mast head a passage in between the breakers. Bore off and run in NEBE.,

<sup>42</sup> The points of the compass given are of no assistance in locating this village.

having from 4 to 9 fathom sand, an excellent strong tide setting out. The boat having made a signal for anchorage and a good harbour, we continued to stretch on till completely within the shoals when we anchor'd in 5 fm. in an excellent harbour.<sup>43</sup> Vast many canoes came off, full of Indians. They appear'd to be a savage set, and was well arm'd, every man having his Quiver and Bow slung over his shoulder. Without doubt we are the first Civilized people that ever visited this port, and these poor fellows view'd us and the Ship with the greatest astonishment. Their language was different from any we have yet heard. The Men were entirely naked, and the Women, except a small Apron before made of *Rushes*, was also in a state of Nature. They was stout made, and very ugly. Their canoes was from the Logs, rudely cut out, with up-right ends. We purchas'd many furs and fish.

8. N. Latt. 46° 58'; W. Long. 123° 0'. Vast many canoes along side, full of Indians. They brought a great many furs which we purchas'd cheap, for Blankets and Iron. We was fearfull to send a Boat on discovery, but I've no doubt we was at the Entrance of some great river, as the water was brackish, and the tide set out half the time. This evening heard the hooting of Indians, all hands was immediately under arms. Several canoes was seen passing near the Ship, but was dispers'd by firing a few Muskets over their heads. At Midnight we heard them again, and soon after, as 't was bright moonlight, we see the canoes approaching to the Ship. We fir'd severall cannon over them, but still persisted to advance, with the war Hoop. At length a large canoe with at least 20 Men in her got within ½ pistol shot of the quarter, and with a Nine pounder, loaded with langerege\* and about 10 Muskets, loaded with Buck shot, we dash'd her all to pieces, and no doubt kill'd every soul in her. The rest soon made a retreat. I do not think that

43. This discovery of Grays Harbor is one of the two great achievements of Captain Robert Gray on the northwest coast of America. The other was the discovery of the Columbia River, which occurred a few days later. Fortunately, there have been saved from Captain Gray's destroyed log of the *Columbia* extracts giving the important entries recording these discoveries. That pertaining to Gray's Harbor is as follows:

"May 7, 1792, A. M.—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather-current. At 1 P. M. the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half past 3, bore away, and run in northeast by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At 5 P. M. came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed, this day, was 46° 58' north." (*House of Representatives Report No. 101, 25th Congress, 3rd session, dated January 4, 1839, p. 47. United States Public Documents, Serial Number 351.*)

\* Langrage, case-shot loaded with pieces of iron of irregular shape, formerly used in naval warfare to damage the rigging and sails of the enemy. The origin of the word is not known. Captain John Smith mentions in his *Seaman's Grammar* (1627) langrill shot, but a century and a half passed before langrage came into use.—W. C. F.

they had any conception of the power of Artillery. But they was too near us for to admit of any hesitation how to proceed.<sup>44</sup>

9. Very pleasant weather. Many canoes came along side from down River and brought plenty of Skins; likewise some canoes from the tribes that first visited us, and their countenances plainly show'd that those unlucky savages who last Night fell by the Ball, was a part of the same tribe, for we cou'd plainly understand by their signs and gestures that they were telling the very circumstance, to their acquaintances from down River, and by Pointing to the Cannon, and endeavoring to explain the noise they made, made us still more certain that they had no Knowledge of fire arms previous to our coming amongst them. I am sorry we was obliged to kill the poor Devils, but it cou'd not with safety be avoided. These Natives brought us some fine Salmon, and plenty of Beaver Skins, with some Otters, and I believe had we staid longer among them we shou'd have done well.

11. Weigh'd and came to sail, and stretch'd clear of the bar. Named the harbour we had left, after our Captain.<sup>45</sup> Standing to the South.

#### AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S RIVER.

12. N. Latt. 46° 7'; W. Long. 122° 47'. This day saw an appearance of a spacious harbour abreast the Ship, haul'd our wind for it, observ'd two sand bars making off, with a passage between them to a fine river. Out pinnace and sent her in ahead and followed with the Ship under short sail, carried in from ½ three to 7 fm. and when over the bar had 10 fm. water, quite fresh. The River extended to the NE. as far as eye cou'd reach, and water

<sup>44</sup> The saved fragment of Captain Gray's log does not mention this attack. Later, when the *Columbia* met the sloop *Adventure*, Captain Haswell of the latter wrote in his journal under date of June 14, 1792: "They discovered a harbor in latitude 46° 53' N. and longitude 122° 51' W. This is Gray's Harbor. Here they were attacked by the natives, and the savages had a considerable slaughter made among them." (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. I., p. 731.) In the same volume, page 260, Bancroft says, in note 44, "The fight is not mentioned in the *Columbia's* log, and may therefore be an error of Haswell." If Bancroft had had access to this Boit journal, he would not have written that note.

<sup>45</sup> This frank statement reveals just how Gray's Harbor got its name. Captain Gray had named it Bulfinch Harbor after Charles Bulfinch of Boston, one of the owners of his vessel. The saved fragment of his log does not give the entry bestowing that name but on May 11, 1792, the entry says: "At 8 P. M. the entrance of Bulfinch's harbor bore north, distance four miles." In the Ingraham manuscript journal the chart shows "Bulfinches Harbor." Haswell's journal (note 44, above) shows that he reflected the will of the men in calling the harbor after their captain. On October 18, when leaving the northwest coast, Captain Vancouver ordered Joseph Whidbey in the supply ship *Daedalus* to take one of the *Discovery's* boats "to examine Gray's harbour, said to be situated in latitude 46° 53'." Thus the English journals and charts at once used Grays Harbor instead of "Bulfinch Harbor." In 1838, Charles Bulfinch then seventy-five years of age, was appealed to for certified copies of the *Columbia's* log to sustain claims before the Government. In these he made it clear that Captain Gray had called his discovery "Bulfinch's harbor."

fit to drink as far down as the *Bars*, at the entrance.<sup>46</sup> We directed our course up this noble *River* in search of a Village. The beach was lin'd with Natives, who ran along shore following the Ship. Soon after, above 20 Canoes came off, and brought a good lot of Furs, and Salmon, which last they sold two for a board Nail. The furs we likewise bought cheap, for Copper and Cloth. They appear'd to view the Ship with the greatest astonishment and no doubt we was the first civilized people that they ever saw. We observ'd some of the same people we had before seen at Gray's harbour, and perhaps that was a branch of this same River. At length we arriv'd opposite to a large village, situate on the North side of the River, about 5 leagues from the entrance. Came to in 10 fm. sand, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from shore. The River at this place was about 4 miles over. We purchas'd 4 Otter Skins for a Sheet of Copper, Beaver Skins, 2 Spikes each, and other land furs, 1 Spike each.

We lay in this place till the 20th May, during which time we put the Ship in good order and fill'd up all the *water* casks along side, it being very good. These Natives talk'd the same language as those farther South, but we cou'd not learn it. Observ'd that the canoes that came from down river, brought no otter skins, and I believe the otter constantly keeps in Salt water. They however always came well stocked with land furs, and capital Salmon. The tide set down the whole time and was rapid. Whole trees some-

<sup>46</sup> This is the great Columbia River. Jonathan Carver in 1766-1767, while travelling "through the interior parts of North America," obtained information which caused him to surmise the existence of the "River Oregon, or the River of the West." It is now believed that he coined the word "Oregon." (*Carver's Travels*, 1796 edition, pp. v and 48.) In 1775, the Spanish explorer, Captain Bruno Heceta, called the north cape San Roque and the south cape, Cabo Frondoso. The bay between them he called Bahía de la Asunción. Later the Spaniards changed this name to Ensenada de Heceta. They hinted at a river flowing into the bay. The British trader and explorer, Captain John Meares, in 1788, sought, but did not find, that river. He wrote: "We can now with safety assert, that no such river as that of Saint Roc [Roque] exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts." To show his feelings he gave the bay and northern promontory their permanent names of Deception Bay and Cape Disappointment. (John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N. W. Coast of America*, London, 1791, Vol. I., p. 270.) The date of May 12, 1792, recorded by Mr. Boit, is evidently an error of one day. The date commonly accepted for this important event in American history is May 11. However, there is room for curious confusion in the saved fragment of the *Columbia's* official log, where the evening hours of May 10 are carried over into the entry of May 11, as will be seen in the following transcript:

"May 10.—Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon, all the canoes left us. At 1 P. M. began to unmoor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half past 4, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.

"May 11.—At half past 7, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At 8 P. M. the entrance to Bulfinch's harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-southeast half east, and the northern north-northwest; sent up the main top-gallant yard and set all sail. At 4 A. M. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At 8 A. M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away and run in east-northeast between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At 1 P. M. came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west southwest, distant ten miles; The north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends."

times come down with the *Stream*. The Indians inform'd us there was 50 Villages on the banks of this river.

15. N. Latt.  $46^{\circ} 7'$ ; W. Long.  $122^{\circ} 47'$ . On the 15th took up the anchor, and stood up River, but soon found the water to be shoal so that the Ship took the ground, after proceeding 7 or 8 miles from our first station.<sup>47</sup> However soon got off again. Sent the Cutter and found the main Channel was on the South side, and that there was a sand bank in the middle. As we did not expect to procure Otter furs at any distance from the Sea, we contented ourselves in our present situation, which was a very pleasant one. I landed abreast the ship with Capt. Gray to view the Country and take possession,\* leaving charge with the 2d Officer. Found much clear ground, fit for cultivation, and the woods mostly clear from underbrush. None of the Natives come near us.

18. Shifted the Ship's berth to her Old Station abreast the Village *Chinoak*,<sup>48</sup> command'd by a chief named *Polack*. Vast many canoes, full of Indians, from different parts of the River were constantly along side. Capt. Gray named this river *Columbia's*, and the North entrance Cape Hancock, and the South Point,

<sup>47</sup> Here is a confusion of distances. In his entry of May 12, above, Mr. Bolt says they anchored near an Indian village "about 5 leagues from the entrance." Here on May 15, he says they had proceeded up the river "7 or 8 miles from our first station." Counting the league to be three miles, the total distance up the river was twenty-three miles according to this Bolt journal. The original log of the *Columbia* gives the first anchorage as ten miles from the entrance. (See note 46, above.) And that same log says, under the date of May 14, "at 4 P. M. we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it." Captain Gray's estimate is thus a total distance of twenty-two or twenty-five miles. It is interesting to note that the two records are still one day apart. Mr. Bolt records the journey up the river as on May 15, while Captain Gray gives the date as May 14. Hubert Howe Bancroft dismisses such differences as follows: "I shall have occasion in this and later volumes to name the works in which Gray's voyage is described or mentioned; but none of them add anything to the original log which I have cited; and the errors made are not sufficiently important to be noted." (*Northwest Coast*, Volume I., page 260, note 46.) Lieutenant W. R. Broughton in the *Chatham* entered the river on October 21, 1792, and made an extensive examination which he later reported to his chief, Captain George Vancouver. About the lower portion of the river, Vancouver says: "Mr. Broughton had, for his guidance thus far up the inlet, a chart by Mr. Gray, who had commanded the American ship *Columbia*; but it did not much resemble what it purported to represent." This ungracious fling was more than redeemed when Mr. Broughton gave the name Gray's Bay in honor of the American discoverer. He stated that the bay "terminated the researches of Mr. Gray." This would give Gray's distance from the entrance to be between fifteen and sixteen miles. Broughton held that to be not a part of the river. He left the *Chatham* there and with the cutter and launch proceeded up the river to what he named Point Vancouver. There he calculated his distance to be "from what he considered the entrance of the river, to be 84, and from the *Chatham*, 100 miles." (*Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery Round the World*, second edition, Vol. III., pp. 87, 91, 108.) No effort was made by Broughton or Vancouver to change the name given by Captain Gray to the river. Confusion has arisen as to the exact location of Broughton's "Point Vancouver." The question is carefully studied by T. C. Elliott in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Volume XVIII., pages 73-82 (June, 1917.) After visiting the place with interested friends on the anniversary, October 30, 1916, he says: "It at once became conclusive that Point Vancouver is that low and quite broad point of land situated southeast from Washougal and southwest from Cape Horn, Washington, and nearly opposite to the railway station of Corbett, Oregon; \* \* \* it has come to be known by the river men as Cottonwood Point."

\* The words "and take possession" were inserted at a later time and are in quite a different ink.—W. C. F.

<sup>48</sup> Gray's log gives the spelling *Chinook*. It is probably the first time that the name of the later famous jargon or trade language was recorded. An early settlement of white people on Baker Bay, nearer the mouth of the river, has retained the name of *Chinoak*.

attack'd by Indians, as none had been seen before. Immediately as we made our appearance the Ship cover'd us with the Cannon and the Grape and round shot, must have done considerable damage to our pursuers, as they fell just into the brink of the wood, where the thickest of the Indians was. This soon dispers'd them, and we got all safe on board. Some of these fellows afterwards came down abreast the Ship and brandished their Weapons at us, bidding defiance.

8. N. Latt.  $51^{\circ} 30'$ ; W. Long.  $129^{\circ} 30'$ ; or *thereabouts*. Got under way bound farther up the Straits and towards evening luff'd into a small bend of the land, and came to in 17 fathom close to the shore. A few canoes, with Indians came off, who talk'd the Nootka language. They inform'd that in two days, through the woods, they cou'd reach Nootka Sound and indeed, the Ship was at Anchor near to a Mountain, which is plainly in view at Friendly Cove, (Nootka Sound).<sup>56</sup>

9. Many canoes of this day, and plenty of fine Otter Skins was purchas'd. About Noon, 20 large War Canoes hove in sight, with above 30 Men in each, and we soon discern'd with our Glasses that they was all arm'd, with Spears and *Arrows*. The friendly Indians that was trading along side, told us these people had come to fight, and belong'd to the tribe we had fir'd at two days before, when attack'd upon the beach. Capt. Gray thought it not safe to admit them along side at once, and therefore order'd them, when within hail, for to keep off, and not but one canoe come along side at a time. They obey'd the command, and one canoe, with 42 men came alongside, but had only a skin or two. We soon discover'd that the main body of canoes was paddling towards us, singing a War Song. We fir'd a cannon and some Muskets over their heads. At this they mov'd off about 100 yds. and again halted. A Small Canoe, with a Chief, (paddled by two Indians) kept constantly plying between the Ship and the main body of the Canoes, counting our men, and talking earnestly to the *Natives* along side, encouraging them to begin the attack. He was suffer'd to proceed in this manner some time, when Capt. Gray told him to come near the Ship no more, but he still persisted, and was shot dead for his temerity. Also the Chief Warrior, of the Canoe along side, was shot, for throwing his Spear into the Ship. They then made a precipitate retreat, and the trading Indians, who had kept at a small distance viewing the transactions, again recommenced their trade with us. They inform'd us these Indians, who meant to

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<sup>56</sup> He here hints at what Vancouver was soon to prove, that Nootka Sound is not a mainland harbor.

attack us, was of another tribe with them. Canoes with Indians, came along side and traded away their Otter Skins, but not without Manifest signs of fear.

12. The Natives kept bringing furs, which we purchas'd for Copper and Cloth. *Iron* very dull sale.

FROM PINTARD'S STRAITS TO COLUMBIA'S COVE.

13. Weigh'd and came to sail, standing down straits saw a number of fishing canoes, at a distance but none came near. Towards evening came to in 16 fm. at our former anchorage. See no Indians.

14. Fair wind and pleasant, weigh'd and stood down straits, and at 9 in the evening got clear out bound to Columbia's Cove, our place of Rendezvous. Shou'd these straits join with Juan da Fuca, which perhaps it does, it must make the whole Coast between the Latitudes of 48° 15' and 51° 30' North and Longitudes 120° 57' and 129° 30' W. a vast Archipelago of Islands.<sup>57</sup> We named the port we had entred *Pintards*, after one of the owners, and I've no doubt we are the first *discoverers*.<sup>58</sup> It is certainly the most dangerous navigation we have experienced being full of Ledges, small Isles, no soundings and excessive strong tides. But I think it affords the most Sea Otter skins. We procured upwards of 300 hundred, during our stay, and saild up this straits more than 100 miles, and cou'd see no end. At our last anchorage, or rather the highest up the shore seem'd to trend about ESE.

15. N. Latt. 51° 17'; Amp'd 21° 14' E. Head wind beating to and fro, making slow progress. The entrance of Pintards straits bore East, 3 or 4 leagues, 70 fm. water.

17. N. Latt. 50° 6'; W. Long. 128° 12' O  $\epsilon$ . Fresh breezes. This day spoke the Sloop *Adventure*, Capt. Haswell, sent our boat and Capt. Haswell came on board the Ship. Bore off the Cove. 'T is remarkable that we both meet within 12 league of our Rendezvous bound in. The chief of the Sloop's Cruize had been about the Charlotte Isles, and had collected about 500 *Skins*, all prime. On the 24th of April Capt. Haswell fell in with the Ship *Margaret* of Boston, James Magee Master.<sup>59</sup> They was on the same business

<sup>57</sup> Another hint at the impending discovery.

<sup>58</sup> They were real discoverers of that portion of the great waterway. The British officers had discovered and named the entrance and Vancouver was to approach in that same summer from the opposite entrance. Those Americans got little or no credit for that geographic discovery but, as Mr. Boit says, they got many sea otter skins.

<sup>59</sup> Haswell's journal for the date of this meeting, June 17, 1792, contains a brief account of the *Columbia's* experiences. Mr. Boit's effort to tell about Haswell's doings fixes on the wrong date. The meeting with Captain Magee was on May 7, instead of April 24. In seeking Captain Magee, Haswell says: "I had been informed by some of Coyah's tribe that there was a ship lying at Barrel's Inlet, and I had little reason to doubt them, as one of the natives had a jacket and trousers they had purchased of them, on the buttons of which was printed, Long live the President, G. W." (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. I., p. 729.) Captain Magee had brought letters from home greatly appreciated by Captain Haswell and the other Americans.



as ourselves. At 5 P. M. past Woody point, and at 7 anchored in company with the Sloop, in Columbia's Cove. A few Natives ventured along side, after much coaxing. (Found the Inscription at the watering place unmolested.) Took the Skins from *Sloop* on board ship. Sent parties on shore, well arm'd after wood and water. Purchas'd some furs.

20. Haul'd the Sloop on shore, and graved her. Capt. Haswell says she is an excellent sea boat, and sails very well. The Indians among whom he traded never offer'd insult.

21. Got the Sloop off the ways, and fitted her for another Cruise.

24. Weigh'd and sail'd from the Cove, in company with the *Adventure*, bound to Queen Charlotte Isles.

25. N. Latt.  $50^{\circ} 37'$ ; W. Long.  $129^{\circ} 55'$ . Fair wind and moderate breezes. Sloop in company. The coast about 8 leagues distance.

28. N. Latt.  $52^{\circ} 18'$ ; W. Long.  $129^{\circ} 15'$ . Fresh winds, all sail out running along shore, about 3 leagues distance, with smooth sea. Sloop about 2 miles a head. At 2 P. M. the Ship struck a Rock, which lay about 7 feet under water and did not break, hove all aback, and she came off clear, try'd the pump, and found she leak'd 1000 smart strokes per Hour, sounded along the Rock, and found no ground at 70 fm. Hoisted a signal for the Sloop, and she immediately haul'd her wind for us. Stood off, both pumps just keeps the leak under. In the morning bore off to the Northward.

29. N. Latt.  $53^{\circ} 1'$ ; W. Long.  $131^{\circ} 41'$ . Came on a hard gale of wind, and although we kept firing Cannon through the night the Sloop parted from us, as 't was very thick in the morning. The leaks rather increas'd, and our feelings was not the most agreeable on the occasion.<sup>60</sup>

#### OFF QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLES (SOUTH PART).

30. N. Latt.  $51^{\circ} 57'$ ; W. Long.  $131^{\circ} 10'$ . This day see the Queen Charlotte Isles, stood in pretty close to the South pt. and fother'd the Ship with a topsail which we had previously prepared for that purpose. This, fortunately for us, stop'd the leak one half.

July 1. N. Latt.  $51^{\circ} 48'$ . Close in off the South pt. of Queen Charlotte Isles from which lay many detach'd Rocks. We pass'd

<sup>60</sup> Captain Haswell, in the sloop, was fearful that the *Columbia* had foundered and stood to and fro all day near the place of separation. He worried over the matter until he met Captain Ingraham, in the *Hope*, on August 21. He then learned that Captain Gray was repairing the *Columbia* at Nootka. (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. 1., p. 734.)

the pt. within two or three miles and left many breakers without us in the Offing. We wish to get into Barrells sound.

2. N. Latt.  $51^{\circ} 49'$ ; W. Long.  $130^{\circ} 30'$ . Saw the entrance of Barrells sound, bearing NW., the wind direct in our teeth. Employ'd turning to windwards, with all the Elements against us. Crew all in brave health.

3. Employ'd beating to windward through the night, in the morning spoke the Ship *Margaret*, James Magee, Master. Capt. Gray went on board the *Margaret*, and found Capt. Magee very sick. This ship stopt a few days at the Cape De Verds, and made her passage in 6 months. They had not been very fortunate in trade. Bore away to the Southward, in company with Capt. Magee, bound to Columbia's Cove, for the purpose of examining the *Columbia's* bottom. Fair wind at NW.

#### AT ANCHOR IN COLUMBIA'S COVE.

5. N. Latt.  $50^{\circ} 6'$ ; W. Long.  $128^{\circ} 0'$ . This day came to in Columbia's Cove in company with the *Margaret*. Several canoes came along side, and the Natives appear'd quite chearfull.

6. Hoisted all our Cannon, in the longboats of both Ships, made a raft of our spare spars on which we put everything possible that wou'd not damage. Struck yards and topmasts. So ends.

7. Took up the Anchor, and hauld the Ship on shore, on a fine beach, at high tide. When the tide ebb'd, 't was discover'd that the Ship's keel was split, and the lower part of the Stem was entirely gone, within 2 inches of the Wood ends, a great deal of Sheathing was off, and three of the plank next to Garboard Streak was stove on the larboard side. The Carpenters went to work and put in new pieces of plank but it was found impracticable to pretend to repair the bows without heaving down, or some such method, and this cou'd not be done in our present situation. Nootka Sound, where we knew there was a Spanish settlement, Capt. Gray tho't the most proper place, and we all concur'd in the opinion.

8. Hauld the Ship off, and soon got ready to leave the Cove.

#### BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND.

10. N. Latt.  $50^{\circ} 6'$ ; W. Long.  $128^{\circ} 0'$ . This day weigh'd, and again left the Cove, in company with the *Margaret*, standing towards *Nootka*, but overshot it in the Night, which is a misfortune.

11. N. Latt.  $49^{\circ} 9'$ ; W. Long.  $125^{\circ} 26'$ . Abreast Cliaquot harbour, and as it's in vain to beat to Nootka with a strong breeze

a head, we bore up, and towards evening, in company with the *Margaret*, anchor'd in Cluquot harbour. The Natives were at first shy, but we prevail'd on some of them to come on board.

12. Capt. Gray, having met with *Wickananish* on board the *Margaret*, prevail'd on him to visit the *Columbia*, but he did not appear happy. However 't was the means of getting more *Skins*, than we otherwise should have done. Employ'd wooding and watering (abreast the Ship) and under cover of her Guns.

15. This day arriv'd in the Harbour the English Brig *Venus*, Henry Sheppard Master, 6 months from Bengall in *India*. I went off to him in the offing, and piloted his Brig to the harbour. He inform'd us that at a small harbour in De Fuca straits, where he was at anchor a few days since, there was a Spanish settlement, where lay a Spanish 64, the master of which while amusing himself in shooting back in the woods, was kill'd by the Indians, in consequence of which the Spaniards seized a Canoe full of Natives and massacred them all (in *cold blood*) not even sparing Children. Shocking to relate!<sup>61</sup>

17. Weigh'd with a fair wind, and left Cluquot bound to Nootka sound, to repair the Ship, under the protection of the Spaniards. Left the Ship and Brig behind. The wind soon came a head, and we began turning to windward, without making much progress. However we shall reach it by perseverance.

19. N. Latt. 49° 0'; W. Long. 125° 0'. Bad weather and the wind direct ahead. This day stood in and anchor'd in Cluquot harbour. Found the Ship made a poor hand beating to windward, without a Stem. Found the Brig *Venus* here, but Capt. Magee had sail'd. No canoes off.

20. Wind favorable, weather more settled. Weigh'd at Day-light, in company with the *Venus*, and stood to sea. Wind soon haul'd in its old quarter. Employ'd beating to windward towards Nootka Sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 17'; W. Long. 126° 0'. Wind still at WNW. and fair weather. Saw Breakers point NW. 4 leagues, making short hanks.

22. Weather'd away Breakers point and stood towards Nootka Sound. Observ'd the Spanish Colours flying at the Entrance of

<sup>61</sup> Captain Ingraham's manuscript journal mentions the Spanish officer and, later, while complaining of the natives of Neah Bay lurking about the shipping, says: "What their motive was I cannot say unless in hopes of some opportunity to be revenged on Senor Fidalgo who it seems kill'd 8 men as a retaliation for the life of the officer before mentioned, this circumstance seem'd to have a very sensible effect on these people for when ever anything relative to the affair was mentioned it would occasion a tremour and every one was ready to say it was none of their tribe &c. If the innocent were punish'd and the guilty escaped it was a pity but how was any one to ascertain the guilty person as no one would come forward to accuse him or them hence Senor Fidalgo to convince them such enormities would not be passed over with impunity thought proper to make an example of the first he met with after the death of his unfortunate Officer and much esteemed friend."

Friendly Cove, but the tide swept us so strong towards some breakers on the East shore, and the wind being light oblidg'd us to Anchor in 16 fm. rocky bottom. Hoisted our Ensign in a Wiff and fired a Gun for assistance which was answered by the *Spaniards*. Soon after see several Boats rowing towards us. Quite calm.

23. The Boats got alongside. They was sent by the Spanish Admirall to our assistance (except one, from an English *Store Ship*, under charge of Mr. *Neal*, the 1st Officer). This *Ship* was sent out by the British Government, with Stores for Capt. *Vancouver*, who had not yet arriv'd at the Sound. The Spanish boats was under the charge of a Pilot, who had order to Get the Ship to the Cove, and lend every assistance.

#### AT ANCHOR IN NOOTKA SOUND.

24. N. Latt.  $49^{\circ} 30'$ ; W. Long.  $126^{\circ} 30'$ . Light breeze from the South'd and East'd. Weigh'd and came to sail, under conduct of the Spanish Pilot, who well knew his business, and was perfectly acquainted with the soundings and tides. Upon passing the Spanish fort, at the Entrance of the Cove, we saluted with 7 Guns, which was return'd. Towards evening came to, in Friendly Cove (Nootka sound). Found riding here the *Store Ship*, a Spanish Sloop of War, and the Brig *Venus*. The Spaniards treated us nobly, and offer'd freely every assistance in their power. We lay in this place till the 23d August. Shall give the *Minutes* of our transactions during that period.

25. N. Latt.  $49^{\circ} 30'$ ; W. Long.  $126^{\circ} 30'$ . Discharg'd the Ship's Cargo and stores, and stored them in a house on shore which the Spaniards had lent us for that purpose. Strip'd the Ship to a Gutline, and got the riging all on shore to repair. The Spanish governor seem'd highly pleas'd with the dispatch that took place; indeed ev'ry man in the *Columbia* was anxious to get the Ship in readiness to pursue her Voyage, well knowing that the time drew nigh when we shou'd again be sailing towards our friends in America, and our sweet anticipation of the joys that await us there made us use ev'ry effort. This Spanish settlement at *Nootka*, contained about 50 Houses, indifferently built (*except* the Governor's, which was rather *grand* than otherways). There was about 200 Inhabitants, consisting of Spaniards and Peru Indians, but no females. Their fort was no great thing, mounted with 6 twenty four and thirty six pounders—the platforms would not bear the weight of metal. There was two Botanists resided with the Governour. Capt. Gray took up his lodgings at the *governor's* request, at his house.

29. Don. Van Francisco De La Vondego,<sup>62</sup> which was the name of the Governor, gave a grand entertainment, at his house, at which all the Officers of the Fleet partook. Fifty four persons sat down to Dinner, and the plates, which was *solid silver* was shifted five times, which made 270 Plates. The Dishes, Knifes and forks, and indeed every thing else was of Silver, and always replaced with spare ones. There cou'd be no mistake in this as they never carried the dirty plates or Dishes from the Hall where we dined, (as *I thought*, on purpose to let us see the quantity of plate used by Spaniards in South America.)

31. This day got all ready to heave down, by the Spanish Sloop of War, the Governor having granted us his permission.

*August 1.* Haul'd along side the Spanish Ship, fix'd our purchases to her, and soon had the *Columbia* keel out. But was oblig'd to right her again, as she made too much water, her upper works being quite weak. Capt. Gray determin'd to give over the Idea of heaving her out, and accordingly gave orders to prepare to lay her ashore on *blocks*.

2. N. Latt. 49° 30'; W. Long. 126° 30'. This day haul'd the Ship upon the beach at high water, and placed a long round log *along* her keel fore and aft, endeavouring to trip her over it, but the Bottom being so *flat*, she wou'd turn keel out. Other logs was laid, and moor'd with *Cannon* on the Beach, with an intention of laying the Ship's *Fore foot* on them, which we accordingly did at high water, the logs laying as far aft as the fore *Chains*. This method answered our most sanguine *expectations*. At low water, or half ebb, the ship's bows lay'd four feet above the beach. In this situation we scuttled her Aft, so as to keep her steady in her berth, at high water. In three days, by the assistance of the Spanish and English Carpenters, a New Stem and part of the Cutwater was put to the Ship. Stopt the Scuttle, grav'd the Ship, and haul'd off to our Moorings.

8. The Spaniards view'd us, with astonishment, and the Governor observ'd that he believed we cou'd build a ship in a month.

9. The Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim,<sup>63</sup> arriv'd here, on the 1st from Canton, and sail'd this day on a *Cruise*.

<sup>62</sup> Mr. Boit here makes a sad mess of the name of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, after which he adds an unusually interesting item about the silver dishes at Nootka.

<sup>63</sup> Captain Ingraham devoted his entry of this date to a discussion of the fine dignity and courtesy of Captains Vancouver and Bodega y Quadra, representing Great Britain and Spain under the treaty of October 27, 1790, known as the Nootka Convention. It may be added that a full discussion of "The Nootka Sound Controversy" by William Ray Manning, Ph.D., is published in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1904, pages 279-478. It is devoted to the diplomacy between the two nations named but throws no new light on Captain Gray's discoveries.

10. On the 10th arrived here the ship *Buttersworth*, from London, Wm. Brown Commander; Ship *Margaret*, James Magee, and Brig *Hope*, Joseph Ingrahim.

11. And on the 11th arriv'd the Sloop *Prince La Boo*, Capt. Gordon from London. These vessells were all in the fur trade. The *Laboo* was a tender to the *Buttersworth*.

16. The Ship *Margaret* put to sea, under charge of Mr. Lamb, 1st Officer Capt. Magee residing with the Spanish governor for the benefit of his health.

22. This Day the *Columbia* was ready for sea, and in fine order. Have painted her complete.

23. Arriv'd the English brig *Three B's*, Lieutenant Alder, Commander, from London, on a trading Voyage.

#### BOUND TO CHARLOTTE ISLES.

24. Weigh'd and came to sail, bound for Queen Charlotte Isles, Barrells sound, those Isles being the appointed rendezvous, for to meet the *Adventure*, Capt. Haswell. It is but doing Justice to the Spaniards at Nootka sound to observe that during our tarry among them we was treated with the greatest hospitality, and in fact they seem'd to exert themselves, and to feel interested in our behalf. May such fine fellows Never be in want of the like assistance shou'd they ever stand in need of it from the hands of any American. The Governor wou'd Not allow Capt. Gray for to pay one farthing.

25. N. Latt. 49° 30'; W. Long. 126° 30'. Nootka sound is as remarkable a place to know from seaward as any I know of. At most times Iatheo peak (a mountain) in the form of a sugar loaf can be seen, and there is none other that at all resembles it, on this part of the Coast. A long low point, with high Breakers off it, makes the SE. part of the Bay. The Western entrance of the sound runs down to a low point, with a small round Hill just back of Friendly cove.

28. N. Latt. 51° 45'; W. Long. 130° 30'. This day made the SE. part of the group of Charlotte Isles. A thick fog came on, so that we cou'd not reach the sound. Employ'd beating off and on, waiting for fair weather.

30. This day the weather clear'd and the Sloop *Adventure* hove in sight standing for Barcl. [Barrells?]<sup>64</sup> sound. This is the second time we have met off the place of *Rendezvous*. Saluted each other with 7 Guns. Found Capt. Haswell and Crew all well, and

<sup>64</sup> Mr. Ford's conjecture in brackets is correct.

had made a successful cruize. We stood into Port Montgomery,<sup>65</sup> a small harbour to the North'd of Barrells Sound, which the *Adventure* had visited before, and her Captain named it after our famous American General who fell before Quebec while gloriously fighting in the defence of our liberties. Graved the Sloop in this place, and otherways put her in fine order, to attract the eyes of the *Spaniards* at Nootka, as Capt. Gray meant to sell her to *them* if possible. Cut some spare spars at this place, and wooded and watered the Ship for her passage to Canton. Many Natives visited us, and brought plenty of fish but few furs. Took out the *Skins* from the Sloop and stow'd them away on board the Ship.

#### BOUND TO NOOTKA SOUND.

September 13. Weigh'd and stood to sea, in company with the *Adventure*, bound to Nootka sound.

21. N. Latt. 49° 30'; W. Long. 126° 30'. Abreast the Entrance of the Sound. A Spanish Brig in sight to leeward, which hove to and fir'd a Gun. We immediately bore off for her. She was the *Acteva* of 14 Guns, with the Spanish Governor of Nootka on board, bound to *Peru*. He told Capt. Gray that he wou'd wait 10 days at a small *Spanish* settlement, in Juan De Fuca straits, where he was then going, for to leave some orders, previous to his leaving the Coast. He appear'd anxious to have the Sloop, and Haswell was not backward in displaying her to the best advantage. Towards evening we anchor'd in Friendly Cove, having saluted the Spanish Governor with 13 Guns when we parted. Found riding in the Cove His Majesty's Ships *Discovery* and *Chatham*, The *Dedalus*, Store Ship, Capt. [Thomas] New, Ship *Margaret*, of Boston, Capt. Magee, English Brig *Fens*, Capt. Duffin, English Sloop *Jackhall*, Capt. Steward, and a Spanish Line of Battle Ship of 74 Guns. Spanish Colours still flying at the fort, the Governor having refused to give up the Sound to Capt. Vancouver who was authoriz'd by his Government for to take possession of it. However the Spaniards told *Vancouver* that he might have that particular place where Capt. [John] *Mears* made his small settlement, and built a Sloop, which was very inconsiderable. Capt. Vancouver insisted upon having the whole or none. However they both agreed

<sup>65</sup> Possibly the Carpenter Bay of the present charts. There is here another error in dates. Captain Haswell gives this meeting as early on the morning of September 3 instead of the August 30 of the Boit journal. Captain Haswell's first mention of Port Montgomery was on May 6, 1792. The name has not persisted. The American sought to be honored was Richard Montgomery. On the rocks above Cape Diamond, near Quebec is an inscription: "Here Major-General Montgomery fell, December 31, 1775."

to let the business remain (in statu quo), to remain friends, and write home to their respective Courts, on the subject of dispute.<sup>66</sup>

#### JUAN DE FUCA STRAITS.

22. Weigh'd in company with the Sloop, and left Nootka bound to Port Ne-ar<sup>67</sup> in Juan de Fuca straits. Fair wind and pleasant weather.

23. N. Latt. 49° 9'; W. Long. 125° 26' O  $\epsilon$ . Close in with Cliquot harbour. In the morning saw two Sail in the NW. At Meridian Tatooch's Isle on the SE. entrance of the Straits bore E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. 8 or 9 leagues.

24. N. Latt. 48° 30'; W. Latt. [Long.] 123° 45'. Spoke the Spanish Brig *Acteva*, with the Governor on board. They was much surpriz'd at our being in the Straits as soon as they was. At dark the Spanish Brig hove to under her tops'ls. We kept plying all night for our Port, and in the Morning got safe to anchor in C'o with the Sloop *Adventure*. Found riding here the Spanish Ship *Princessa* of 64 Guns, and Brig *Hope*, Capt. Ingrahim. This was a small, good harbour, situate about 5 leagues from Cape Flattery, within the straits of De Fuca. The Spaniards had erected a Cross upon the beach, and had about 10 Houses and several good Gardens. Several Natives along side, and a few prime Skins was purchas'd, (*with plenty of fine Halibut*). I went with the Pinnace to the Assistance of the *Acteva*, she having been oblig'd to anchor near Cape Flattery, in a dangerous situation. When I came on board, instead of using every effort to get clear of Danger, they was performing Mass. However soon got under way and stood for Port Ne-ar.<sup>68</sup>

25. N. Latt. 48° 35'; W. Long. 123° 30'. The *Acteva* anchor'd in company. Saluted the Governor with 13 Guns, which

<sup>66</sup> Mr. Boit either did not hear about it or thought it unworthy of mention, the fact that Captain Vancouver had completed the discovery he had hinted at on June 8 and 9. (See above, notes 56 and 57.) On Wednesday, September 5, 1792, after returning from a trip up Nootka Sound, Captain Vancouver made this entry in his journal: "In our conversation whilst on this little excursion, Senor Quadra had very earnestly requested that I would name some port or island after us both, to commemorate our meeting and the very friendly intercourse that had taken place and subsisted between us. Conceiving no spot so proper for this demonstration as the place where we had first met, which was nearly in the center of a tract of land that had first been circumnavigated by us, forming the south-western sides of the gulf of Georgia, and the southern sides of Johnstone's straits and Queen Charlotte's sound, I named that country the island of QUADRA and VANCOUVER; with which compliment he seemed highly pleased." (*Voyage of Discovery Round the World*, second edition, Vol. II., p. 357.) The Spaniard's name has disappeared from recent charts, but *Mitchell's School Atlas*, published in Philadelphia in 1851, showed the conjoined names on the large island.

<sup>67</sup> Neah Bay.

<sup>68</sup> Captain Ingraham recites at some length the fact that he also went out to the assistance of the *Acteva*, accompanied by Mr. Hoskins, supercargo of the *Columbia*. He says he found Captain Bodega y Quadra angry that assistance had not been sent before. He says he succeeded in explaining all to the satisfaction of their Spanish friend.



was return'd. Employ'd filling up our Water, and getting ready for our passage across the Pacific Ocean.

26. Spanish Officers from both ships, together with Capt. Ingraham, dined on board the *Columbia*. Fired, on their coming, and going away, two Foederall salutes.

27. Sailed the *Princessa* for Nootka sound. Ships crew are all in prime health. Natives constantly visit us, but they do not like the Spaniards.

28. This day sold the Sloop *Adventure* to the Spanish Governor, for 72 Prime Sea Otter Skins, worth 55 Dollars each in Canton, which is equal to 4960\$, which at 50 per Ct. advance home, is 7440 Spanish Piasters, a good price.<sup>69</sup> He wanted her as a present to the Viceroy of *Mexico*. Before delivery we took out all her provisions and stores, with a New Cable and Anchor.

29. Sailed this day the Brig *Acteva* and Sloop *Adventure*, under Spanish Colours, bound to Acapulco. We saluted on their departure with 9 Guns which was return'd.

30. Weigh'd and sailed from Port Néar,<sup>70</sup> bound across the Straits for a Cove, call'd by us *Poverty*.<sup>71</sup> Same evening anchor'd, in 7 fathom. Found this harbour much snuger for our business. The Indians brought a few Skins and plenty of fish and some train oil, which last article we much wanted.

October 1. Employ'd wooding and watering and getting the Ship in order. Cut many spare spars.

3. Weigh'd for the last time on the NW Coast, and left Poverty Cove, bound for Canton in China, via Sandwich Islands.<sup>72</sup> Our feelings on this occasion are easier *felt* than described. Our friends at Home and ev'ry endearing *Idea* rush'd so full upon us, and made us so happy, that 't was impossible, for a while, to get the Ship in

69 Captain Haswell wrote on the same day: "In the morning Capt. Gray concluded his bargain with Commander Quadra for the sloop, for which he received 75 sea-otter skins of a superior quality." (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. I., p. 735.) That entry shows a difference of three sea-otter skins in the two records. Mr. Boit has also made a blunder by "carrying one" and making it \$4960, instead of \$3960 as the value received for the sloop.

70 Captain Ingraham had a very poor opinion of Neah Bay as a harbor. On September 28, 1792, he wrote: "I cannot imagine what the Spaniards promis'd themselves by forming a settlement on this spot where it is 5 points of the compass open to the sea from WNW to NBW so that it is almost as bad as being in the centre of the straits and I much wonder how the *Princessa* road out 7 months in safety in such a place especially as the bottom is very rocky in forming a new settlement I should suppose a good Harbour was the first and most materiale thing to be sought for." Neah has remained one of the most substantial Indian villages in the Pacific Northwest.

71 Captain Ingraham's manuscript chart shows "Poverty Cove" to be the same as Port San Juan, on the southwestern shore of Vancouver Island. After the sloop *Adventure* was sold, Captain Haswell and his crew went on board the *Columbia*. His journal shows a few brief entries after that transfer. He records the departure for "Port Poverty" as on September 28, instead of September 30 as recorded by Mr. Boit. Captain Haswell gives the reason for moving as follows: "As it was necessary to cut a large quantity of wood, and a number of spars to last us to Boston, Capt. Gray concluded to go over to Port Poverty, where it would be much more convenient, and much less danger of the natives." (Bancroft, *Northwest Coast*, Vol. I., p. 735.)

72 The last entry in Captain Haswell's journal gives the date of departure the same as in Mr. Boit's journal.

readiness for bad weather, and full allowance of Grog being serv'd on the occasion, made our worthy Tars join in the *general Mirth*— and so we go.

N. Latt.  $48^{\circ} 25'$ ; W. Long.  $123^{\circ} 30'$ . At noon Cape Flattery bore East 7 leagues. Steering SW. Wind NE. Soon lost sight of the Mountains of North America.

9. N. Latt.  $44^{\circ} 51'$ ; W. Long.  $128^{\circ} 34'$ ; Amp'd  $14^{\circ} 37'$  E.

11. N. Latt.  $43^{\circ} 7'$ ; W. Long.  $129^{\circ} 5'$ ; Amp'd  $13^{\circ} 17'$  E.  
O  $\alpha$ . Pleasant weather. Wind at West. Ship's Crew in health.

16. N. Latt.  $34^{\circ} 7'$ ; W. Long.  $138^{\circ} 6'$ ; Azi.  $10^{\circ} 58'$  E.  
Pleasant gales and fair weather.

17. N. Latt.  $32^{\circ} 54'$ ; W. Long.  $138^{\circ} 42'$ ; Azi.  $11^{\circ} 46'$  E.  
Pleasant gales and fair weather.

21. N. Latt.  $28^{\circ} 10'$ ; W. Long.  $142^{\circ} 24'$ ; Azi.  $10^{\circ} 0'$  E.  
Crew all in health, and wind and weather propitious. Took NE Trade winds this day.

26. N. Latt.  $20^{\circ} 15'$ ; W. Long.  $150^{\circ} 39'$ ; Azi.  $6^{\circ} 7'$ ; Amp'd  $6^{\circ} 38'$  E. Warm and pleasant, with a smooth sea.

28. N. Latt.  $20^{\circ} 5'$ ; W. Long.  $154^{\circ} 52'$  \*  $\alpha$ . Spoke the Brig *Fens*, Capt. Duffan, bound to Canton. The first lieutenant\*<sup>73</sup> of the *Discovery*, Capt. Vancouver, was a passenger on board this Vessel, bound home, with dispatches for Government.

\* Lieutenant Mudge?—W. C. F.

<sup>73</sup> Mr. Ford's conjecture is correct. Captain Vancouver wrote: "Considering it an indispensable duty, that the Lords of the Admiralty should, from under my own hand, become acquainted with the whole of my negotiation at this port by the safest and most expeditious conveyance, a passage was procured for my first lieutenant Mr. Mudge on board the *Penis* and St. Joseph, bound to China, from whence he is to proceed with all dispatch to England." He thereupon promoted Lieutenants Peter Puget and Joseph Baker. (See *Voyage of Discovery Round the World*, second edition, Vol. II., pp. 377-378.)









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